

From Rural to Urban: The Environmental History of Augsburg College, 1872-2005

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Prologue

In Fall 2006, nine students from Augsburg College—Melissa Thurmes, Andrew Connor, Spencer Power, Alex Hoselton, Matt Eller, Adam Nelson, Alex Ubbelohde, Bernell Martin, and Emily Jensen—enrolled in History 331: U.S. Environmental History. It showed them a new way to look at the past. This group of talented students became the engine that propelled *From Rural to Urban: The Environmental History of Augsburg College, 1872-2005* into a reality. The research project, on top of other course requirements, required cooperation through planning and research to develop an initial draft. We became “real” historians by digging through secondary and primary documents and working to synthesize our findings into a working document. Two of the nine students—Alex Ubbelohde and Alex Hoselton—further pursued the project in an independent study during Spring 2007 in order to refine and revise *From Rural to Urban* into its present form.

Typical history, as most Americans conceive it, is meant to evoke citizenship, offer lessons, and provide perspective on what people did and thought in our collective past. Environmental history includes the element often missed in this typical history: nonhumans as historical actors. The environment, both natural and man-made, affects the way people conduct their daily lives. Furthermore, our perception of the environment changes our relationship with it. Likewise, we also change our environment. As a discipline, environmental history understands human actions in a larger context of interrelationships among nature, technology, and humans.

We began applying these notions to the history of Augsburg College, an institution in the midst of an urban environment where students, faculty, and staff find

themselves in a constant relationship with the campus and its surroundings. Examining our institution's environment and the inherent relationship between the two provokes the principal function and purpose of environmental history. As historian William Cronon suggests, environmental history draws on "radically different fields—ecology, geography, economics, anthropology, and many others—in its attempts to create a more fully integrated synthesis."¹ Looking at Augsburg and its surrounding entities and environments through the lenses of multiple fields adds depth to its history and allows for a better understanding of the effects of decisions that affected the entire campus.

Our perception of nature affects the way we interact with our environment. When we see resources as limitless, we don't constrain ourselves. On the other hand, if we perceive our resources as scarce, we're more apt to conserve. Furthermore, seemingly small actions can have serious ecological consequences. Pesticides used on a farm can travel thousands of miles through water and air eventually affecting organisms half a world away. Through greater ecological understandings of the broader implications of our actions, we will be able to make better decisions both on campus and off.

Following the same conventions as other subdisciplines of history, environmental history avoids anachronism but highlights specific stories over others in order to answer current questions. It would not be fair to pass judgment on Augsburg's history with knowledge only of the present's mores. For instance, in 1949, during the construction of the Science Building, Augsburg failed to adequately insulate the new hall. Because of this, the building continues to require enormous amounts of energy to heat and cool. Built in a time where fossil fuel energy was cheap and abundant, the lack of installed insulation in the Science Building illustrates the environmental perceptions and

assumptions of post-World War II America as well as their effects, which only now seem deleterious.

Nonetheless, lessons can be learned from this experience. We now know that such resources will not always be cheap, abundant, and limitless. Therefore, we should attempt to think about the broader consequences of our most basic decisions. Choices made today by individuals and institutions not only affect future generations, but also on the future environment. These environmental changes will directly shape the way people interact and live together in the future.

Environmental history often intends to evoke change. Cronon argues that “stories about the past ... teach us how difficult it is to act in ways that benefit humanity and nature both—and yet how crucial it is to try.”² By looking at past relationships between environment, culture, technology, and people, we can see where previously held assumptions were faulty and what the consequences of previous actions have been. With this knowledge we can better understand the full weight of current decisions and hopefully attempt to make better ones.

Looking at Augsburg’s past as environmental historians allowed us to better understand the preconceived notions that people brought to the institution, and what messages the institution has promoted through its curriculum, extra-curricular activities, as well as the social hierarchies implicit in the manipulation of the institution’s environment. This study also scrutinizes ideas held at Augsburg in regards to the natural environment, including the surrounding ecosystem and resource availability. Lastly, environmental history shows how institutional concerns made this physical location

appealing to Augsburg, and how the changing environment that surrounded us has influenced how we acted and viewed the world.

While this study will deal with Augsburg at its present location, the institution did not originate there. Augsburg Seminary (as it was then called) was evicted from its location in Marshall, Wisconsin in 1871 and left homeless.³ The Minneapolis site was chosen soon thereafter largely because of lobbying on the part of the city, which promised a site and money for construction to the college; the closer proximity to other Norwegian immigrants settling on the West Bank was also an appealing factor.⁴ Two individuals, Charles E. Vanderburgh and Ole Paulson, were the driving factors behind Minneapolis' desire to have Augsburg locate within the city. Vanderburgh, a district judge, suggested to Paulson, pastor at Trinity Lutheran Church, that Minneapolis needed to promote itself as a Scandinavian cultural center, and that an institution of higher learning with some sort of Scandinavian association would do much to further that pursuit. Soon after, Paulson learned of Augsburg's need to relocate and brought forward the proposition to move the college to Vanderburgh. The two used their resources to provide many incentives for Augsburg to choose Minneapolis as its new location, including land, building materials, and money.⁵

In 1871 Minneapolis was a city of approximately 20,000 people. Though larger than Marshall, Wisconsin, it had not expanded into the area where the school would be located. A land survey from 1876 (four years after the college chose its current location) noted that much of the surrounding area was prairie and oak openings and barrens. The dry prairies contained mostly soil of level to shallowly sloping terrain.⁶ John H. Blegen, a student who began at Augsburg in 1875 and later became a professor at the institution,

stated that when he arrived “on the south side there was not a single house as far as the eye could see, except a decrepit uninhabited cabin.”⁷

While Minneapolis provided Augsburg’s new location, contemporary accounts suggest that the location would be considered rural by today’s standards. Deeply engrained assumptions about landscapes that traveled with the Augsburg students and administration meant the pastoral setting proved to be a pleasant surprise. Many of the individuals came from agricultural backgrounds and were more comfortable in open spaces than in a city with higher population densities.

The groundbreaking by Augsburg at this location brought previously unrelated entities into relation—Augsburg Seminary (and all the church ties and cultural beliefs that came with it), the city of Minneapolis, and the preexisting natural environment. In its earliest years, Augsburg served students from rural areas in an undeveloped part of the city. As Minneapolis grew, the college found itself enveloped in a new set of relationships. The emergence of city water, waste, energy, and transportation networks transformed life at Augsburg and redefined the college’s relationship to nature and the urban environment. Furthermore, cultural struggles within the Norwegian American community resulted in the administration's conscious rejection of the natural sciences as a core component of the curriculum. This hindered the development of an environmental consciousness on campus.

By the time the college began expanding its physical footprint in the late 1930s, little attention was paid to the ecological impacts of most decisions. The campus footprint continued to expand throughout the 1950s and 1960s, an era of cheap fossil fuel energy. Automobile dependence insured a perpetual parking crisis. Meantime, Augsburg

haltingly reached out towards its surrounding community, with mixed results. In the wake of Earth Day (first celebrated at Augsburg, as elsewhere, in 1970), ecological awareness grew as professors added new courses to the curriculum and as the administration attempted to beautify campus grounds and Murphy Square. Yet efforts to green the curriculum and the campus stalled out in the early 1980s. The 1990s saw environmental awareness—manifested through a recycling program—emerge in fits and spurts. By the early 2000s, a new campus-wide committee on environmental issues and a growing number of environmentally-related courses suggested that ecological stewardship was finally being taken seriously by the Augsburg community.

This document attempts to illustrate the interrelationships between all of the aforementioned entities. The conflicts that arose among them, and the decisions made individually and in partnership with them shaped the way that Augsburg and its surrounding environments exist together today. Through the analysis of these events and outcomes, the environmental history of the institution serves as a resource to be utilized in future decision making. Augsburg's history is not only interesting, but also a tool for better understanding the effects that the choices made by the college, and its surrounding entities, have on each other and their surrounding environment.

Chapter 1: From Independence to Integration, 1872-1915

In Fall 1872, Augsburg Seminary opened its doors for the first time in Minneapolis. Living on the fringe of Minneapolis's original boundary, President August Weenaas and his pupils did not walk out the door to find busied streets and cityscapes.¹ The first administrator and students looked out onto a prairie landscape with a growing city northwest of campus. Green space dominated the landscape as several native grasses—including big and little bluestem, Indian grass, prairie drop-seed, june grass, hairy grama, porcupine grass, and oak trees predominated.² The rural location suited the basic needs and wants for the rural-minded students. Former student and faculty member, John Blegen, observed in his memoirs that on the south side of the campus in 1874, “there was not a single house so far as the eye could see, except a decrepit, uninhabited hut.”³ Augsburg College historian Carl H. Chrislock, noted that neither “residential nor commercial expansion had yet reached the future Cedar-Riverside area of Minneapolis” and “the setting was equally as rural” as Augsburg's former home in Marshall, Wisconsin.⁴ Augsburg's new environment suited the students. Many of them migrated to Augsburg from farms, and the cow pasture immediately west of the seminary promoted a sense of belonging.⁵

Three academic segments made up Augsburg's “*Prestekole*” or ministerial training model: the academy, the college, and the seminary. The college department's admission process declared that Augsburg was “specifically designed for [those]... who [had] the ministry in view.”⁶ Norwegian immigrants made up Augsburg's constituency

for both students and financial support.⁷ Augsburg's religious and immigrant makeup shaped the way it related to its surroundings.

The method in which Augsburg operated mirrored rural necessities. Along with a house built for two more professors, and an addition to the original building (later known as the first Old Main), Weenaas also solicited funds at the Norwegian Augustana Synod's annual conference for a barn.⁸ In the early 1870s, the barn served several purposes. Students kept a horse, which served as transportation to the city on the muddy clay roads. Norwegian meals required large amounts of milk and dairy products, which a cow dutifully produced in their barn.⁹ Horses and cows supplied energy for professors and students, both for basic transportation and caloric intake. These two animals literally transported and fueled campus residents. Measured in terms of work, energy, and transportation, animals in cities across the United States provided an estimated 54.2 percent of total output in the late 1800s.¹⁰ In order to dispose of edible wastes, a pig also inhabited Augsburg's small campus barn. These functional animals represented the common needs of the times. Though administrators bought feed for the horse and cow, Augsburg's campus did not need to be linked to outside resources for transportation and waste disposal, as it would later.

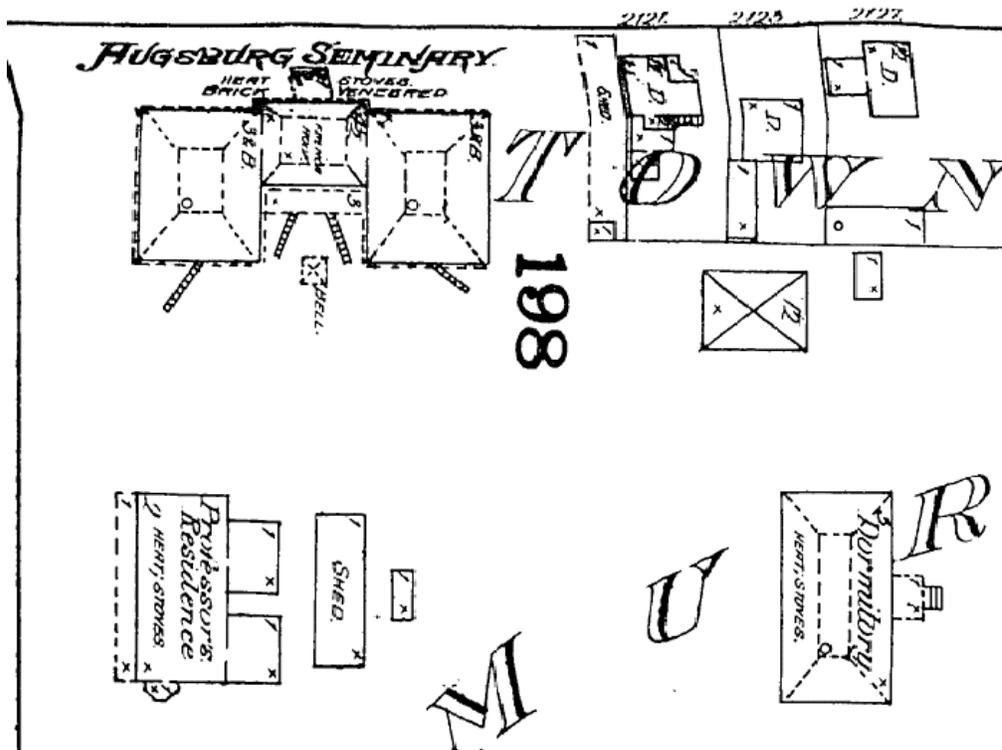


Figure 1: An 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (north is at the top) shows the original Old Main in the northwest corner of the city block (now the location of Sverdrup Hall), professors’ quarters on the bottom left, and the barn (here labeled “shed,” as it’s function likely changed only eleven years after it’s construction in 1874).

The rural location of Augsburg precluded the college from access to any city utilities. In relation to the city, the early location identifies several key factors related to the methods in which water, waste and energy traveled through campus in Augsburg’s early years. Historian Joel Tarr describes some of the basic city waste and water systems characteristic of the period:

The water supply and human waste and wastewater disposal systems utilized in most cities during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries were characterized by a local focus. Water supplies were obtained from local sources such as wells and pumps drawing on groundwater, from nearby ponds and streams, and from rainwater cisterns. Used water (wastewater) and human waste were usually disposed of in cesspools and privy vaults, although occasionally were thrown out on the street or in vacant lots.¹¹

Augsburg employed similar methods for acquiring water, and campus residents likely used privies or outhouses. Municipal sewer systems in most cities did not exist until after 1880 and those systems were predominately for storm water rather than human sewage.¹² As for city waste collection, “the question of who was ultimately responsible for collection and disposal of refuse was not yet decided by the 1880s and 1890s.”¹³ Waste disposal at Augsburg most likely occurred through compost, animal consumption, and incineration.

Augsburg’s location on Minneapolis’ boundary meant the campus could not use city resources for heating and lighting. Minneapolis first installed electricity in 1880, but commercial interests used it most. According to 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Augsburg used wood to heat its facilities.¹⁴ Individuals likely used small gas lamps or candles for light.¹⁵ Underground wiring was first attempted in the city in 1887, but soon became damaged and unusable as the result of improper insulation. In 1890, the second attempt at reburying better-insulated wires finally gave Minneapolis a system that allowed for the expanded use of electricity.¹⁶

Murphy Square sat adjacent to Augsburg’s small campus. Continued city growth also started to transform the immediate vicinity. Indeed, to help bring Augsburg to Minneapolis, Edward Murphy donated four lots to the seminary in 1871 adjacent to the 3.33 acres he donated to the city in 1857 for public use. As part of the latter donation, Murphy even paid for a fence around the new public space. Though he labored under the impression he would be reimbursed for the \$500 he spent to construct the fence, the city never paid him back.¹⁷ The fence proved especially crucial, since it was not uncommon for city residents to own cows and horses, and public spaces such as Murphy’s supplied

free food for the animals. Murphy's fence kept the local livestock penned in.¹⁸ By the time Augsburg moved to Minneapolis, cows grazed the space. In 1883, Murphy Square officially became an entirely different public space. Neighborhood residents probably still brought their cows and horses there to graze, but the intended use of the park definitely changed when the Park Board installed walking paths. Minneapolis's first public park also became Augsburg's "tree shaded natural beauty spot that was by the 1930s—at least to the eye—a part of the campus."¹⁹

By 1885, the area around Augsburg saw some of the earliest urban growth in Minneapolis.²⁰ The population of Minneapolis in 1870 remained below twenty thousand.²¹ A large expansion of the city, congruent with population growth, lasted for the next twenty years. In 1875, forty nine percent of the city's population lived within one mile from the city center and 97% of residents lived within two miles of it.²² 46,000 people called Minneapolis home by 1880. By 1890, 165,000 lived within Minneapolis.²³ This astounding and rapid growth changed and challenged Augsburg and the city.

The first horse-powered trolley in Minneapolis came online in 1875. Expanded use of horse-drawn transit cars represented two principles of city planning that changed the future of Minneapolis and Augsburg. First, the population could not grow beyond a reasonable distance for one to walk between home and work. But a mass transit system permitted those who could afford the five-cent fare to work farther away from home by the 1880s. Second, the street track system of the Twin Cities Rapid Transit Company (TCRT) expanded out into newly founded suburbs, (which later influenced Augsburg's attempt to move outside the city). By 1884, Augsburg students walked north one block to Riverside Ave and saw the changed landscape marked by a horse-pulled streetcar, and

before they graduated those same students might have even spied a new steam-powered railcar.²⁴

Horse-powered mass transit was gradually replaced in Minneapolis by steam-powered engines, which held modern appeal and speed. First installed in 1879, the updated streetcars, also known as “motor lines,” reduced the number of horse-drawn lines in operation.²⁵ Thomas Lowry, TCRT’s president, built tracks outside the city under the assumption people would purchase property there because the transit system would be convenient. Yet steam-powered streetcars in urban areas succumbed to failure due to large amounts of dust and noise.²⁶ Just then, the advent of large-scale electric networks began led to the replacement of steam “motor lines” with electric-powered trolleys.

Electricity emerged in Minneapolis as a viable power source in 1882 when the Minnesota Brush Electric Company received “a franchise to supply the city with light, heat, and power.”²⁷ After several years of name changes, expansion, and the construction of hydropower dams and stations such as the Riverside steam plant (which replaced the first hydroelectric plant in 1882)—the power companies in Minneapolis became a strong force.²⁸ Aided by the energy of water in the Mississippi River rushing downslope, they proved quite capable of supplying energy to the rapidly expanding city of Minneapolis. No longer set away from the city, Augsburg found itself woven into an urban environment tied together by technology that moved people around the city in novel ways.

In turn, campus facilities and the ways in which the campus used energy changed drastically. These transformations came as a direct result of the city’s expansion and the related demand for services such as city water, sewer lines, heat, and electricity. As a

result, the resources used to construct buildings and the method in which the seminary consumed energy and dealt with waste reflected the times. The emerging urban infrastructure built to handle water, waste, and energy meant facilities were built in a dependent and linear manner (meaning that water, waste and energy entered buildings, were used, and then exited the system as heat, light, in sewers or otherwise).

Although water works projects dated back to 1867, a formal Board of Water Commissioners organized in 1881 and planned the future of Minneapolis's water system.²⁹ The first evidence of water running to Augsburg appeared on the 1892 city plat maps, which show six-inch pipes surrounded three sides of the Augsburg block with fire hydrants.³⁰ Within the next six years, the city expanded the street sewer system, equipping Twenty-Second Avenue with a sewer, marking Augsburg's growing dependence on city services.³¹

SEVENTH

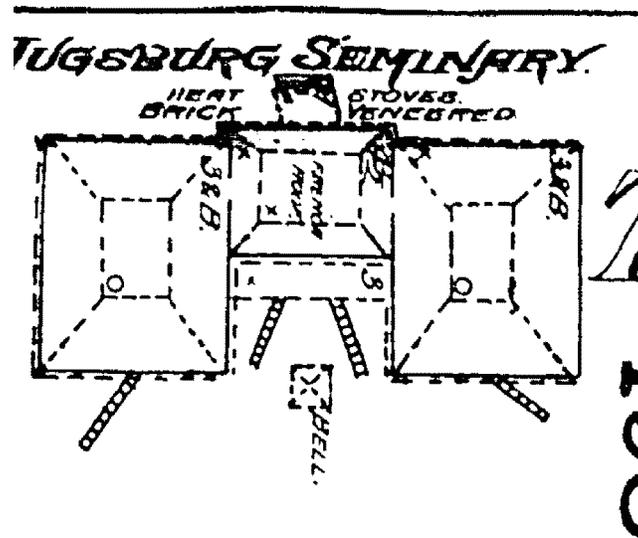


Figure 2: This close-up of a Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from 1885 indicates that stove-based heat predominated at Augsburg before the 1890s.⁶

Initially these utilities were not available for on-campus buildings. But that changed by the late 1880s. Though Augsburg Seminary endured various financial perils, the college evidently found the resources to upgrade its facilities. By the time Augsburg decided to build the contemporary Old Main in the late 1890s (see Figure 3), they planned for plumbing with running water and restrooms, steam heat, and built-in electric fixtures electricity. Campus historian Carl Chrislock wrote that steam for heating and “modern plumbing was installed in all campus buildings” by 1903.³² Further evidence of the shift from independent ecological relationships to dependence on urban water, waste, and energy systems appears in the 1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (Figure 3).

Written in small print underneath “Augsburg Seminary,” one finds notations suggesting

steam heating for warmth and electricity for lights.³³ The college's decision to utilize these newly provided utilities demonstrated that Augsburg administrators and students embraced the conveniences offered by the urban grid. The campus no longer needed a horse for transportation and woodstoves for heat. In fact, in Figure 3, the most rural aspect of Augsburg's campus—the barn—no longer appears. Minneapolis slowly swallowed Augsburg in an emerging modern urban landscape.

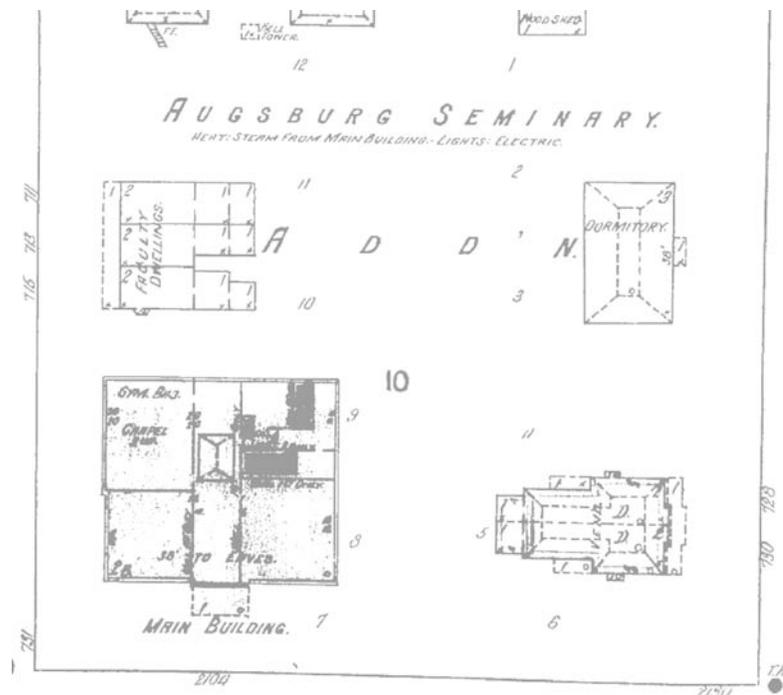


Figure 3: This Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from 1912 illustrates new energy systems on campus. The largest building on this map, labeled “Main Building,” first known as New Main, later became known as Old Main and still stands today.

As the city grew around Augsburg, pious faculty and staff did not enjoy all that the city offered. The Norwegian-American Lutheran legacy instilled notions of preservation toward both ethnic heritage and Christian faith. Scandinavian and German immigrants moved into the area during the 1890s and opened plenty of businesses for

selling liquor as the city expanded. In response, administrators at Augsburg held steadfastly to Norwegian-Lutheran piety.³⁴ This ideological buffer kept the seminary and college from engaging with the city, and resulted in Augsburg's isolation from the broader community for years to come.

Staunchly set against alcohol, the college created a rift between Augsburg and the Cedar Riverside area. The intensely vocal prohibitionist, Sven Oftedal, along with other faculty and students, engaged themselves in anti-liquor activism throughout the area. John Skordalsvold, for instance, opened a local coffee shop as a liquor-free alternative for students. To further organize against strong drink, Oftedal and Georg Sverdrup organized "The Scandinavian-Lutheran Total Abstinence Society" in 1883.³⁵ Located in an immigrant neighborhood, flush with saloons and liquor, Augsburg set itself in stark contrast. In finding close affinity with the temperance and prohibition movements, Augsburg further isolated itself from much of the community through the early twentieth century.³⁶

Modernized by electricity, steam heat, city water, and flushing toilets and holding out against what it envisioned to be debauchery all around, the college entered a tumultuous period characterized by low enrollment and weak finances in the early 1900s. The college built no new buildings for more than thirty years. Chrislock attributed the slow down and Augsburg's struggle to the work to develop a curriculum on par with colleges that offered more than seminary preparation and training.³⁷ In this period, Augsburg began to compete with other colleges—namely, Hamline and St. Olaf, both of which offered a broader curriculum.

Several indicators showed Augsburg's transition into a modern college in the city. While Augsburg College was once surrounded by "prairie and swamp," it gradually became engulfed by a working-class immigrant neighborhood characterized by "industrial smoke and commercial invasion." According to some at Augsburg, an "undesirable class of people of varied race and color" moved into the area and the respectable white, native-born middle class began to relocate to the suburbs. By 1900, the majority of Augsburg graduates transitioned from immigrant to second generation Norwegian-Americans. This trend was marked by the numbers of immigrant and Norwegian-American graduates from the college. In 1905, only three native-born Norwegian students received degrees. By 1907, the total "was five natives to four immigrants" and in "1909, five to one; and in 1910 all six were American born."³⁸

Members of the graduating class of 1911 noted a more dramatic transformation when they inscribed their emblematic pins with "Augsburg College" rather than "Augsburg Seminary."³⁹ This trend began to occur between 1898 and 1910, as one half of the graduates chose fields of study other than the ministry.⁴⁰ The transition, mentioned in the 1908 Course Catalog, meant that courses were "not planned to make a necessary but a fitting road to theological studies."⁴¹ Student vocational choices deviated from the institutional path projected by the administration.

Curriculum changes reflected a struggle to remain with the long-time divinity school model (*Prestekole*) rather than adopting an American-style college system. Yet the curriculum had to be altered to support the delicate balance that for years had sustained Norwegian American culture and faith, even as it gave Augsburg's students the tools to assimilate into American society.

Weenaas, decades before, had articulated Augsburg's mission as having two goals: "preservation of the Norwegian heritage; and preparation of Augsburg students for full participation in American life."⁴² A college curriculum that consisted of Norwegian and American history, literature, culture, and an emphasis on educating bilingual Norwegian-Americans conceded the importance of simultaneously maintaining and transforming cultural identity. In fact, in order to help realize assimilation, a deal between the University of Minnesota and Augsburg allowed students to enroll in English classes free of charge for much of the late nineteenth-century. According to President Weenaas, this arrangement helped to develop students without sufficiently damaging their "religious and doctrinal point of view."⁴³

Nonetheless, Norwegian culture and ideals remained so prominent that the first English-language report from an Augsburg President to the annual Lutheran Free Church (LFC) conference did not occur until 1930.⁴⁴ Georg Sverdrup's report to the 1884 LFC annual conference confidently declared that the future of Augsburg College needed to focus "exclusively" on a divinity school model. Without flexibility, this narrow approach hindered Augsburg's effort for accreditation as a liberal arts college for the next half century.⁴⁵ Sverdrup spent years focused on balancing the integration of seminary students into American society and retaining core Norwegian values, which meant he resisted a curriculum that reflected new trends in American higher education.

This proved crucial, since during the latter part of the nineteenth century, American colleges and universities significantly expanded the study of the natural sciences. Until the early 1900s, Augsburg's professors strictly opposed science as contradictory to faith. The mission of Augsburg was to educate future clergymen and

train them to suit the needs of scattered Lutheran Free Church congregations, not science. At Augsburg, individuals would be strengthened in their commitment and affinity toward the congregation and be free of the unnecessary humanistic tendencies. Educational practices at Augsburg would not be those shared by contemporary American colleges, but remained rooted in divinity school training.⁴⁶

Augsburg's leaders felt that pagan influences caused immorality and "the instance of science on the inexorable sovereignty of natural laws (*Naturvidenskabens Lovmaessighed*), [was] a mode of thinking that rendered the concept of Christian freedom unbelievable."⁴⁷ Sverdrup claimed that humanists who worked in the natural sciences aimed to "'awaken the intellect' which meant 'raising questions and instilling doubt.'" Sverdrup praised American humanists for their insight, but believed that the "eloquent expositions of human wisdom overshadow the Cross of Christ."⁴⁸ The pre-seminary curriculum was the exception, as it was not an integral part of the institution's ministerial education.

Slowly, this began to change. Augsburg's course catalog included preparatory classes in Physics in 1898-99, Geography I and Geography II and Geography III in 1902-03, and Botany I in 1904-05. Physics demonstrated the basic laws of nature, while geography emphasized "the study of natural resources, pointing out how they determine the distribution of inhabitants, growth of industries, and the peculiar character of social institutions." The botany class consisted of a "general survey of the plants in nature; their structure; relation of parts to growth and reproduction; pollination and fertilization."⁴⁹ By 1916 the college offered Chemistry, Physiology and physical Geography, Botany II, and Commercial Geography—which was a "description of the earth from a commercial

point of view- a study of localization of industries or the geographic division of labor.”⁵⁰

The gradual expansion of natural science courses expanded pre-seminary curriculum studies from one year in the 1880s to four years by 1910. Interestingly, the increase in pre-seminary curriculum options coincided with the shift from immigrant to American-born students.

All told, the divinity school left a legacy of academic stagnation and ignorance of the natural world. Augsburg’s first stride toward accreditation was taken in 1909-1910, when the Board of Examiners of the Minnesota Department of Education reviewed the college. The report concluded that Augsburg needed to replace much of its cultural studies in history and language with natural sciences such as biology and chemistry. Augsburg also lacked an adequate building for the natural sciences. Equipment for the sciences was either non-existent or “inferior to that of our own state high school.”⁵¹

Beginning in the early 1910s, Augsburg faced struggles with enrollment, and seminary students dwindled from fifty-three to only twenty-three over seven years. Chrislock wrote in *From Fjord To Freeway* that over this period “no visible building and ground improvements graced the campus, and the budgetary situation remained precarious.”⁵² Augsburg’s obsolete curricular and classroom infrastructure resulted in a continued lack of scientific and environmental awareness. The *Augsburg Echo* printed an article in 1909 that illustrated students’ ignorance of nature and natural sciences, when a student inappropriately (and inaccurately) personified the life of a potato.⁵³ Regardless, “as the experience of the next decade would disclose, the choice open to Augsburg’s College department was not between the status quo and ‘modernization,’ but between the latter and liquidation.”⁵⁴

Chapter 2: Rejecting the City, 1916-1936

In the two-decade period between 1916 and 1936, Augsburg struggled with the city neighborhoods surrounding the campus and with the path the institution should take for future success. Augsburg's location and the gradual Americanization of the institution began the loosening of ties from its *Prestekole*, or ministry training, past. This period was instrumental in the formation of Augsburg College.

The evolution of the institution can also be seen through the admission of women to the college in Fall 1921. While there was debate on the issue within the administration, there was surprisingly little reaction to the change among the student body. The only evidence of the change was a brief snippet in the on campus events section of the *Augsburg Ekko*, which stated that while there may have been some initial shock, the male students "...were now accustomed to it as though [they had] always had coeducation."¹ Coeducation at Augsburg represented the continued Americanization of the institution, but it was the financial gains from the addition of women that made coeducation a reality.

The admission of women and the administration's exploration of changing the school's physical location occurred simultaneously. In 1919, a committee of seven members headed by Pastor John A. Houkom investigated new challenges for Augsburg, notably, the Americanization of the institution and the urbanization of the surrounding area. It recommended campus relocation. Many favored a move to a nearby suburb of Minneapolis, but other sites were suggested, including Fergus Falls, Rochester, Thief River Falls, and even Glacier Park, Montana.² Faculty who supported coeducation saw

the new enrollment of women as a form of funding that might help pay for a move away from the city.³

A survey of Augsburg's community in 1920 showed how much support the idea of moving the institution had. Out of 149 respondents, eighty-two favored moving the campus and fifty five "voted to remain on the seminary block." The remainder did not answer. A meager difference of twenty seven votes lay between the two camps.⁴ The alumni association that conducted the survey recommended the relocation of the Augsburg Academy as the precursor, with the college and seminary to follow.

Administration and faculty that voted against moving may have done so for several reasons connected to relocation of the Academy and coeducation. With more space available, student enrollment for the college might include women. The group supported coeducation and believed in an American model of education that emulated coeducation in state colleges and universities. Meantime, the traditionalists fought coeducation as a break from the *Prestekole* tradition, but did not necessarily oppose moving the campus.⁵

George Sverdrup, president of Augsburg at the time, brought the issue of coeducation to the forefront of discussion at the 1921 Lutheran Free Church conference. The issue sparked two days of heated debate between conferees who wanted Augsburg to keep the *Prestekole* model and were wary of the Americanization of the college, and progressive members who believed that for Augsburg to be a viable choice as an institution of higher learning, coeducation was a necessity. The final vote shows that while opponents of the addition of women on campus were vocal in the debate, they were

few in number. The addition of female students to Augsburg College was accepted 256 to 11.⁶

Overcrowded campus housing also made relocation attractive for some at the college. This brought urgency to the move, which by then had been named the Augsburg Park Project. A site in Richfield proposed by Knute B. Birkeland, chairman of the board of the Lutheran Free Church, was described as an ideal location.⁷ Only two miles from Minneapolis's boundaries and connected to the city by an electric tram, the site was "a beautiful oak grove that extends to a lake with high banks and sandy beaches."⁸

The land in Richfield, which some at Augsburg wanted to buy, cost \$100,000. That amount exceeded the LFC board's available resources for the move. Worried that the land would be gone by the time Augsburg could raise money, a plan to purchase the plot by a separate committee, one legally separated from the college, took shape. The Augsburg Park Association, organized by people closely related to the school, had no official or legal connection to Augsburg. The association planned to purchase individual lots for Augsburg's new location, as well as for families who wanted to be in close proximity to the institution. After all payments were made, the association would transfer the land to Augsburg. With this plan in place, the Augsburg Park Association pushed the college to find a buyer for its Minneapolis campus. This plan would not only move Augsburg out of the inner city, but also would surround the students with respectable, suburban, middle-class Norwegian American families.⁹

A closer look at the physical context Augsburg found itself in , and their desired relocation to Richfield, illustrates the perceptions of urban and rural environments held by the many in the 1920s. As stated in the prologue, rural conditions defined Augsburg's

campus in its early years. However, as Minneapolis spread out over the landscape, it enveloped Augsburg's campus.¹⁰ Behind the proposed move to Richfield was an inclination to move the campus outside the city and beyond the lower and working-class residents and the gritty, industrialized city environs that defined the West Bank.¹¹ One article in *The Augsburg Echo* in October 1922 (during efforts to relocate the college to Augsburg Park) described the institution's urban location as a "smoke-saturated atmosphere" that was "suffocating mentally and physically." To this author, no man-made artifice could match the lake on the Richfield property. The "stadium like embankment" of the lake shore would be "better than a modern gymnasium."¹² Even if nicer facilities could be built on the Minneapolis campus, it did not decrease the appeal of Richfield's Augsburg Park. The desire for open and, thus supposedly more natural, space exemplifies the power of the rural environment to motivate migration, and illustrates the type of setting that some individuals wished for Augsburg.

Meantime, Augsburg's neighborhood had shifted from one with a predominantly Scandinavian feel to one consisting of less welcomed lower class groups. One individual, supporting the proposed move to Augsburg Park, wrote an article for the *Lutheran Free Church Messenger* noting the changed population in the surrounding neighborhood as a reason to relocate. Former "supporters of the school" were replaced by "a more or less desirable class of people of varied race and color."¹³ This writer referred to cultural differences and nations of origin in racial terms, which was not unusual in the early 1920s. The earliest census data containing race information, from 1940, when most eastern European immigrants were considered white, suggests Cedar-Riverside was about 97.4% white and that Hennepin County was 99.1% white.¹⁴

The kinds of homes and the placement of industrial sites in the neighborhoods of Cedar-Riverside and Seward, where Augsburg was located, illustrated how development in the area encouraged the in-migration of people of a lower socioeconomic background. Lower land values—the result of nearby industry—separated the poorer working class from the financially stable and educated who were able to afford life on the city’s outside edge.¹⁵ Published in 1924, *Principles of City Land Values*, authored by Richard Hurd, President of Lawyers Mortgage Company, clarified the travel patterns of the blue and white-collar populations in American cities. Businessmen traveled farther distances between home and “their places of business.”¹⁶ The ability to pay for the commute reflected wealth and character associated with home ownership mentioned above. There was a greater demand for the cleaner air and extra space that residences outside of the city provided. Cheaper land near industrial zones in the city did not appeal to those able to afford their own home and the commute. Close proximity to work meant “daily trips of workmen are made chiefly on foot” and these workmen lived in “tenement districts.”¹⁷

Industrial jobs to the north and south of Augsburg’s campus existed within walking distance. The low-lying prairie environments in the vicinity of Augsburg had attracted the construction of railroads.¹⁸ The Milwaukee Railroad ran along the western and southern border of the Seward neighborhood. Although not a tenement district, lower property values and nearby jobs attracted the working class to residences near the railyard and other industries.¹⁹

Commuter students were not yet a large group at Augsburg in the 1910s and 1920s, and the residential student body spent much of its time on campus. This, along with the makeup of the surrounding neighborhood, prevented students from feeling a

strong connection with their surroundings. Four successful students from the class of 1922, (all of whom returned to their alma mater and took up teaching and administrative duties, including a president of Augsburg)--Bernhard Christensen, Bernhardt Kleven, Theodore Nydahl, and Arthur Nash--felt disconnected from the community around them in their undergraduate years.²⁰ Kleven connected the separation from the community to on-campus housing. Christensen concurred that the campus isolated students from the diversity of the community.²¹

Few ties to the neighborhood, and cramped housing, created more motivation to leave for spacious Richfield. As of 1920, 147 students attended Augsburg's small one-block square campus.²² Cramped living spaces did not bode well for students. The arrival of coeducation at the college gave more reason to leave. With women at the school, the student population grew and the housing situation worsened.²³ Unable to renovate Old Main, which was only able to house theology students and current college men, the institution was forced to renovate West Hall, which once housed families, into a women's dorm. The project cost \$1,147.58 and when completed housed twenty-five female students.²⁴

During the early planning to move to Augsburg Park, the college's debt worked against raising funds for the move. After the Great Depression hit in 1929, however, the administration realized that relocation was unlikely. The association also had a difficult time selling lots at Augsburg Park to individuals who desired to live near campus. Finally, the Minneapolis campus was so in need of repairs that any money the college acquired was spent on building renovations.²⁵

In the midst of the attempt to move and the inclusion of women in the student body, Augsburg made other changes as well. The institution strived to become an accredited liberal arts college, slowly replacing the non-elective-based college curriculum with more courses in the natural sciences. Augsburg also took steps toward full accreditation with ever-increasing intercollegiate activities and looked to close the Augsburg Academy. As a result, interest in natural sciences and the non-human environment dramatically increased over the next fifteen years and helped to stimulate further changes in Augsburg College's curriculum.

R. Boyd Nell, the first specialist in the natural sciences, began teaching at Augsburg during the 1916-1917 school year. Nell had previously served as head of the department of natural science at Wartburg College.²⁶ His initial classes were physics and chemistry, but the focus of most of his study had been biology. Prior to Nell's arrival at Augsburg, he had published a textbook titled *Manual of Practical Zoology*.²⁷ The expansion of natural science classes continued when, on August 6, 1919, a faculty-led curricular committee adopted recommendations for curriculum changes, which included the expansion of both the Chemistry and English departments.²⁸

While the curricular shift at Augsburg illustrated a growing consciousness about the natural environment, awareness among the students had been changing prior to the arrival of Nell. An article in the October 1913 edition of the *Augsburg Ekko* titled "The North American Indian," was one example. The article depicted pre-colonial Indians as the "richest men in the world because [they] had never seen another man's property." It also articulated the struggle between the United States government's commodification of natural resources and its policy of forcing "Indians into the wilderness." The article

presented an inaccurate view of Native Americans, but inadvertently offered an unprecedented articulation of environmental inequalities in United States history.²⁹

Another example was found in the November 1913 issue. The piece critiqued the transcendental movement, which emphasized rejecting the societal norm and experiencing nature as vital to a person's spiritual well being, and Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Nature." The author praised the movement against pantheism, but noted that "no movement... played such an important part in American life nor affected the moral, the political, and the intellectual life of our nation as... transcendentalism."³⁰ This, along with the fact that "Nature" was chosen as the work to critique, pointed to a growing consciousness about the natural environment at Augsburg.

The aforementioned evolution continued to filter up through the faculty with the appointments of Arthur Nash and Carl Fosse to the natural science department in 1923. These additions furthered changed the curriculum, culminating in the creation of a separate biology department in 1930. Biology classes had been added in 1924-25 and consisted of animal biology, entomology and comparative anatomy of vertebrates, general botany, and a teachers' course in natural science.³¹ These changes should not be viewed as an effort to increase awareness of the natural environment alone. Coinciding with these changes was an effort by the administration to change the fundamental make-up of Augsburg's curriculum to stay relevant in regional and national education systems that had long been moving in a separate direction.

The evolution of student opinion, illustrated by the *Augsburg Echo*, and the introduction of a modernized curriculum taught by professionally-trained natural scientists ushered Augsburg towards accreditation and allowed its students to be more

engaged in the study of the natural world. The change in the community's identity was present as early as 1920, when a questionnaire circulated throughout campus and illustrated the division in student opinion: "Is Augsburg a divinity school? Forty-six replied yes, 44 no."³² Enrollments in the theological seminary and the academy continued to decline while the college experienced growth. In fact, administrators closed the Augsburg Academy in 1933.

Over two decades, Augsburg struggled to amend its identity. Women were included in the student body, there was an effort to change the physical context of the campus, curriculum changes made Augsburg more competitive with other colleges and pushed students to the formal study of nature, and focus waned from the seminary and the academy. The idea of Americanization prevailed throughout this time period, providing additional motivation for the changes. Coeducation and a science-based education were the two most important pieces of these transformations, for they illustrated a shift in Augsburg's direction. Through the Augsburg Park project, the importance of an aesthetically-pleasing physical environment was evident as well. The city that had lobbied for Augsburg to move within its boundaries had become the enemy. The urban environment that engulfed the campus brought unwelcome pollution and people to the surrounding area. These environmental and social struggles continued to define the college's relationship with its environment through the decades to come.

Chapter 3: Expansion, Energy, and the City, 1937-1970s

The relationship between the campus and the neighborhood, city, state, and nation effected significant changes at Augsburg from the 1930s into the 1970s. The turn to a city-run solid waste collection system, the final rejection of suburban relocation, new campus building projects that resulted in a much larger campus footprint, the construction of I-94 in order to serve and encourage automobile use, and the destruction of supposed urban blight conjoined in an era that envisioned no limits to fossil fuel energy consumption. The years after World War II highlighted the Lutheran institution's negative view of its urban environment as well as its use of large amounts of cheap energy to fuel the campus. Assumptions about energy use and technology directly corresponded to real ecological connections between people and nature on campus, based on various forms of consumption. All told, these decades manifested varying degrees of environmental awareness at Augsburg.

In the 1930s, calls for municipality-organized sanitation arose alongside questions surrounding the disposal of solid waste. Cities faced a decision: they needed to “contract the service by taking bids from private scavenging companies or establish a municipal service.”¹ This was the case across the country at the turn of the nineteenth century, and undoubtedly became an issue Augsburg dealt with as the city grew. In these early years of waste management “if convenient utilitarian methods of disposal were unavailable, most cities ignored the more complex alternatives and resorted to dumping their refuse wherever space allowed.”² For Minneapolis, the dumping of refuse in available space probably referred to dumping at least some of the trash collected into the Mississippi

River and burying it underground in old outhouse pits.³ Public resentment in the early part of the twentieth century resulted in the refined solid waste systems, and “by the late 1930s virtually every city with a population exceeding 100,000 converted to municipal collection and disposal.”⁴ Not until the Great Depression did Minneapolis as well as Augsburg rely on municipal services for trash collection, in addition to the other water, waste, and energy utilities that the city provided.

Augsburg also needed help from Minneapolis philanthropists to help the college grow. In 1937, the college changed the physical plant significantly and relied on city residents to help build Sverdrup-Oftedal Memorial Hall. The process of fundraising for Memorial exemplified the need to connect to the city beyond Augsburg’s campus. As the institution’s largest construction project, it required Augsburg to reach out to the city’s wealthy for donations. In order to raise money as efficiently as possible, President George Sverdrup started a “quiet effort” to raise funds for Memorial Hall amongst the city’s wealthiest philanthropists.⁵ Funds soon became available. The groundbreaking ceremony took place at the end of the 1937-1938 school year.⁶ Constructed to house male students on campus, it helped alleviate, but did not solve, the need for more student dorms.

Not only did Memorial Hall’s construction constitute the largest investment the college had ever made, but it also was the first building solely designed to house students built in fifty years. Compared to previous construction projects, Memorial, at the time, stood out as the most expensive. At the 1937 Lutheran Free Church Conference, an account of building construction showed that the last building built as a dormitory was Morton Hall in 1888:

Norwegian Lutherans in America took possession of a building 40x52 feet which had been erected under the enterprising and vigorous leadership of the Rev. Ole Paulson at a cost of \$6,000. This was the West Wing of the so-called Old Main. Two Years later West Hall was built costing \$3,500. Also the center part of the East Wing of Old Main added that year to the school building for \$10,000—that these two buildings have served wonderfully during 63 to 65 years.— In 1884 East Hall was built at a cost of \$4,900 and in 1888 Morton Hall for about \$4,000. Finally, the New Administration Building was erected in 1901, costing \$42,070 [known today as Old Main].⁷

Before the construction of Memorial Hall, all the changes to campus occurred within one block and roughly totaled \$70,070, while the final sum needed to build Memorial was \$125,000.⁸ The large investment helped tie Augsburg to the city of Minneapolis and its financially-powerful philanthropic community. Augsburg needed to continue this relationship in order to help secure expansion efforts in the future.

In 1940 a fortunate event helped the college further meet the well-established housing crisis. A local doctor, and friend of the college, donated his clinic on 2323 6th Street to Augsburg. As the only stipulation, Doctor Ivar Sivertsen asked Augsburg to pay off the property's mortgage balance of \$12,500. The Board of Trustees took only seven days for the deed to be transferred.⁹ The building provided “37 to 40 girls” with “comfortable accommodations” after a minor investment of \$10,000 successfully converted the building into a residence.¹⁰ Female students continued to live in Morton and West Hall, but these buildings did not meet the college's needs, so the new Sivertsen Hall greatly eased the housing shortage.¹¹ Located three blocks from Augsburg, Sivertsen Hall extended Augsburg's presence beyond the original seminary block defined by 21st and 22nd Avenues and 7th and 8th Streets for the first time.

While the purpose of Dr. Sivertsen's building changed, the subordinate role played in American society by women did not. That women so obviously belonged off campus suggested real gender inequality on campus, since men enjoyed the newly

constructed Memorial Hall. Nonetheless, after Sivertsen’s donation, upper class female students felt they “had come to a place where we belong.”¹² Regardless, Augsburg’s campus required changes as a result of increasing enrollment.

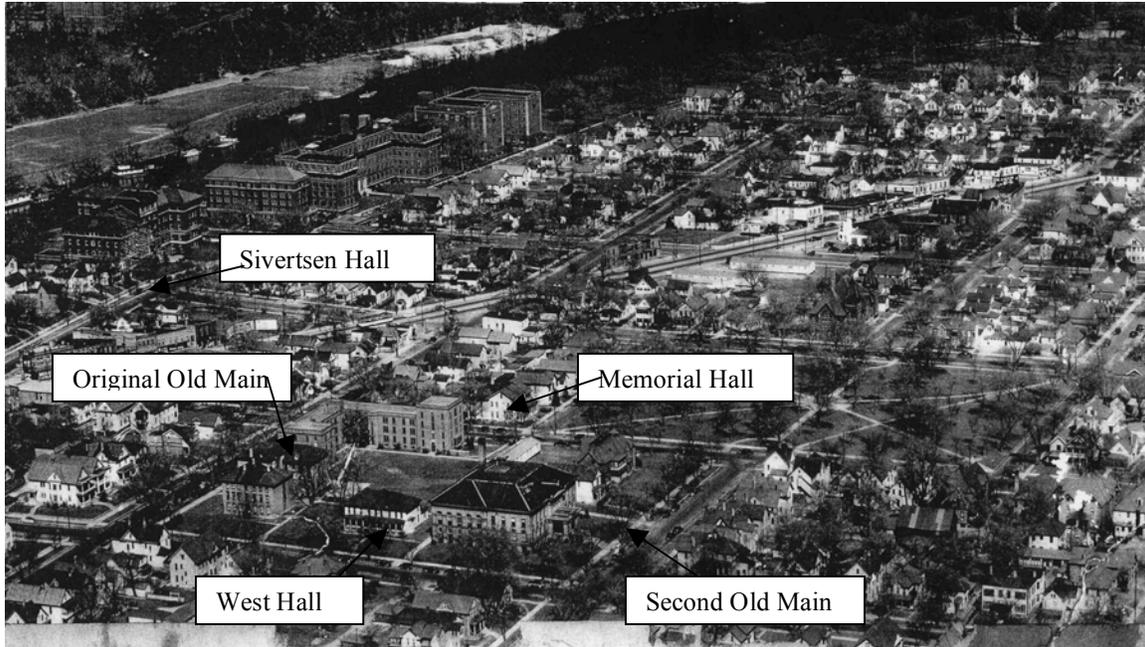


Figure 1: Aerial photograph of the campus taken circa 1943-1945. Courtesy of Augsburg College Archives.

At the 1946 LFC conference, Augsburg had to decide to either sustain the Augsburg Park property or sell it for a loss. The controversy resulted from Augsburg not developing the plot. The college needed the land’s value to grow in order to sell a portion to fund further construction. Meanwhile, the city of Richfield intentionally allowed egregious amounts of runoff water to settle on the Augsburg Park property, creating “a substantial pool.”¹³ Not satisfied with the city’s deposit on their property, Augsburg noted their objection. In return, however, Richfield offered a small sum of \$36,000 to permanently acquire the land, and at the same time informed the Board of Trustees that the land could also be acquired by “condemnation proceedings.”¹⁴ Under this threat, Augsburg compromised and allowed Richfield “access rights” for a meager \$5 a month

to hold them off.¹⁵ Augsburg, after almost twenty-five years, finally needed to decide where the permanent campus would be located.

Enrollment increases after World War II added more pressure to settle on the future campus' location. Cramped city facilities and Richfield's threat weighed heavily on the 1946 LFC delegates. The conference could sell the Minneapolis property and move out to Richfield or sell the Augsburg Park property and relegate themselves to urban Minneapolis for good.¹⁶ A commission organized and researched both options and reported to next year's conference that Minneapolis best suited their needs.¹⁷ The college sold Augsburg Park to Richfield for \$60,000 in May 1949 with the stipulation that it be used for a public park in honor of Augsburg students who lost their lives during World War I and World War II. The park became named "Augsburg memorial Park."¹⁸ The college would no longer be teased by the prospect of relocation to the suburbs.

The next pressing concern related to the demands of becoming an accredited institution. To do so, Augsburg needed to build up both its curriculum and its physical plant, which caused growing pains. Additions to both suggested Augsburg no longer wanted to function in isolation as a Norwegian-American college and seminary. The college built Science Hall in 1949 and razed West Hall in order to make room for the new building. First- and second-year female students who lived in West Hall needed to temporarily move off campus as a result. For the second time, women were removed, if only temporarily, to an off campus location. The Board of Trustees bought a home on 2417 29th Avenue South—more than ten blocks away from campus—and closer accommodations across the street along 21st Avenue, which housed another two-dozen female students. The displacement of female students and acquisition of property beyond the seminary block signified Augsburg's growth into the city as well as the ongoing

challenge of providing space for students. At the 1949 LFC conference, the Board of Trustees reflectively reported that Augsburg had for too long isolated itself from the city.¹⁹ As it began to reengage the city, the campus also participated in ecological relationships that reflected post World War II America's view of natural resources and building practices.

The college's physical plant grew substantially between 1949 and 1977. Over this twenty-three year period, Augsburg constructed nine buildings.²⁰ A number of these projects, such as Si Melby Hall, Music Hall, and the Ice Arena expanded the campus footprint beyond the old seminary block and injected Augsburg into the immediate neighborhood. Other buildings built closer to the original site typified the new relationship with the neighborhood to which the college needed to adapt in order to thrive.

After 1945, America's growing consumer economy depended on cheap energy to run technologies that made up for poorly insulated buildings. The year 1949 marked the completion of Science Hall and the start of major campus expansion. Similar to other buildings of the time, cheap energy and its dependent technologies—such as air conditioning and electric heating systems—made up for inefficient and traditional designs and alleviated suffering from seasonal temperature changes. As late as 1981, with money from the energy company Exxon, an energy audit of Science Hall revealed that the building was “impossible to insulate” and further claimed that any attempts to make the building more efficient would prove negligible.²¹ This trend of constructing on-campus buildings that lacked energy-efficient features continued into the 1970s.

Augsburg constructed eight other buildings in this era of cheap fuels, energy-intensive building climate systems, and poor insulation (Figure 2). All of the structures

were constructed from poured concrete, cement, and brick veneer surfaces.²² Each addition to the campus reflected energy assumptions and building philosophies at the time of Augsburg's campus expansion. The energy auditor pointed out in 1981 that "most of the campus buildings were built during a time when energy was of little or only secondary importance."²³ The period after 1945 and into the mid-1970s proved a time when the college expanded tremendously and energy resources were thought to be abundant and forever cost-effective. Thus the college, through its physical plant, saddled itself with inefficient and wasteful energy consumption.

The student center and Urness Tower, both built in 1967, exemplified the aims of campus expansion during this period. Space for students on campus served two distinct purposes for the institution. First, long term use of buildings provided stability to the college. Second, attractive facilities that held more students encouraged higher enrollments at Augsburg. Therefore, more financial revenues became available from tuition, room, and board paid to the college. Augsburg aimed for the new facilities to accommodate 4,000 students. The student center's design was meant to provide flexibility for the increased number of students. They expected an architect "to conceive of a solution for an immediate needs [sic] that is totally organic in its function and appearance...but which is intrinsically capable of flowering into a fuller bloom at a later stage."²⁴ A federal grant supplied enough funds to build both Urness and the student center, later named the Christensen Center (after former Augsburg President Bernard Christensen).²⁵ Christensen's 62,500 square feet were to accommodate an educational-cultural center, bookstore, recreational area, food-services, religious and spiritual area, administration including student government, student activities including meeting rooms, publications, general public facilities, and mail.²⁶ Urness Tower served to bring

Augsburg visibility and house the growing number of female students. Urness Tower’s physical height made Augsburg stand out again on a crowded city skyline, since it could be seen from downtown Minneapolis. Akin to the original Old Main’s dominant presence in the prairie landscape of 1872, Urness’s nine stories announced the college’s new commitment to the city.²⁷

	<u>Dates and building:</u>	<u>Cost (in dollars):</u>
1949	Science Hall.....	489,000
1954	Sverdrup Library.....	405,000
1960	Si Melby Hall.....	1,100,000
1964	Art Studio.....	75,000 estimated
1967	Christensen Center.....	7,400,000
1967	Urness Tower.....	--
1973	Mortensen Hall.....	10,800,000
1974	Ice Arena.....	6,100,000
1977	Music Building.....	3,010,000

Figure 2: Order of campus expansion by building.

Named after the college’s only Dean of Women, Gerda Mortensen, Mortensen Hall further marked Augsburg’s commitment to the city. Aligned next to Interstate 94, both Urness and Mortensen used less space but housed more students by building up. These two buildings exemplified the need to change the method Augsburg housed students by increasing housing density. Constructed in 1973 for \$10.8 million, Mortensen Hall stands as Augsburg’s tallest structure, at thirteen stories. Three hundred-plus students live in its 82,768 square feet.²⁸ The move away from low long buildings to vertical buildings signaled that Augsburg began adapting to the city environment.

Augsburg's limited ability to acquire land over this twenty three-year period further encouraged the college to build up rather than out. Interestingly—and perhaps inappropriately—the dorms built after Urness and Mortensen all reverted to three- and four-story structures.

The search for space to expand into included Murphy Square, which potentially offered the college another 3.33 acres. Augsburg was not the only party interested in Murphy Square. In 1951, the Minneapolis Park Board wanted to sell the plot of land to help purchase property for another park in the area. Abbott Fletcher, the board's lawyer, found substantial legal arguments that refuted the Park Board's ability to sell Murphy Square—and he then sent a letter that cited several state court cases to the Board of Park Commissioners to squash the deal.²⁹ Sixteen years later, Augsburg formally looked to acquire Murphy Square. In August 1967, for the second time, the Park Board asked their attorney to investigate the issue. Edward Gearty, a less diligent lawyer than Fletcher, failed to find “restrictions” in state and local government offices and suggested the proper paperwork to transfer the deed.³⁰ Yet just six months later Gearty wrote a letter to Superintendent Robert Ruhe rescinding his previous advice. Gearty cited Fletcher's letter from 1951, which clearly stated “Murphy Square cannot be transferred by the Minneapolis Park Board to any purchaser.”³¹ Murphy Square was to remain “for the benefit of the public.”³² Augsburg would have bought Murphy Square in 1951 and again in 1968, if it were deemed legal. Indeed, campus plans from the late 1950s did not include Murphy Square as an open green space for the broader public (Figure 3).³³ Murphy Square was the oldest park in the city, but, however subtly, Augsburg felt its long-term goals of expansion outweighed the park's historical significance.

Despite this perceived setback, by 1969, through efforts to purchase land over the era of expansion, Augsburg's boundaries stretched from 20th Avenue on the west side of campus to 25th Avenue on the east. Riverside Avenue defined the northern border of campus and I-94 delineated the southern border.³⁴ The latter landmark provided the college with resources to help acquire new land and changed Augsburg's neighborhood.

The attempt to acquire new land was inextricably linked to urban renewal, and the most prominent tool of urban renewal came from the federal government. Urban renewal projects sprouted from highway projects and forever changed Augsburg's relationship with the surrounding neighborhoods. In 1956, Congress passed the Federal-Aid Highway Act granting state highway departments vast amounts of funding for urban highways.³⁵ Meant to strengthen American national security and economic interests, the construction of a national freeway system also supported efforts to destroy urban neighborhoods planners designated as "slums."³⁶ The Minnesota Highway Department (MHD), later called the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MDOT), planned Minnesota's freeways and oversaw construction of Interstate 94 between Minneapolis and Saint Paul. This stretch of highway ran along the south side of Augsburg College.



Figure 3: Augsburg’s futuristic-looking campus, envisioned in these 1958 plans, did not include preserving Murphy Square as a public space. Courtesy of Augsburg College Archives.

The original site of I-94’s construction was to be far south of Augsburg, but several factors brought the freeway to the college’s edge. Originally intended to follow 26th Street to the Mississippi River, the proposed route went through the Prospect Park neighborhood on the east bank of the Mississippi. Neighborhood dissent there shaped a changed route. Businesses and the local neighborhood organization in Prospect Park wanted the economic perks associated with the freeway’s traffic flow, but not all the neighborhood residents wanted the intrusion. The route would have interrupted access to a nearby public park for area families.³⁷ Powerful institutions such as the University of Minnesota and downtown businesses both wanted the freeway closer to the future West Bank campus and along a more direct route between Minneapolis and St. Paul.³⁸ Authorities finally agreed to move I-94’s route further north after noting that “trained minds ... in the area” could not function well with slums in close proximity.³⁹ Even as the interstate was placed along 9th Ave South, the urban renewal component of the

Federal-Aid Highway Act emerged. The leafy boulevards and quaint middle-class homes of Prospect Park neighborhood did not look like a slum to highway planners, but the lower income and culturally-diverse area around Augsburg College did.

The construction of I-94 targeted minorities and impoverished populations by displacing them from their homes. Intentionally used as a tool to eject populations deemed undesirable, the freeway came closer to Augsburg. Redevelopment associated with moving I-94 closer to the college was justified by planners because “higher education is vital to the economy of Minnesota, to allow conflicting interests of land use results in its deterioration and reduces the effectiveness of the institutions in Riverside.”⁴⁰ More specifically, planners believed Augsburg College and the University of the Minnesota could not provide a good education in a physical setting of low income and racially diverse neighborhoods. These parts of the city were marked by their high population density and older, deteriorating buildings. By those criteria, Augsburg’s neighborhood easily elicited the title of “slum.” When compared to Prospect Park in 1960, Augsburg’s neighborhood included over three times the population density, almost four times as many minority residents, and was much poorer than Prospect Park.⁴¹ A resituated I-94 fit into the larger pattern of displacement caused by the interstate’s construction. By completion, African American citizens across Minneapolis and St. Paul unfairly bore the brunt of the forced displacement. Seventy-two percent of homes cleared for the freeway’s corridor in both cities belonged to African Americans. In St. Paul, one in eight blacks “lost a home to I-94” and many of their businesses were never reopened.⁴²

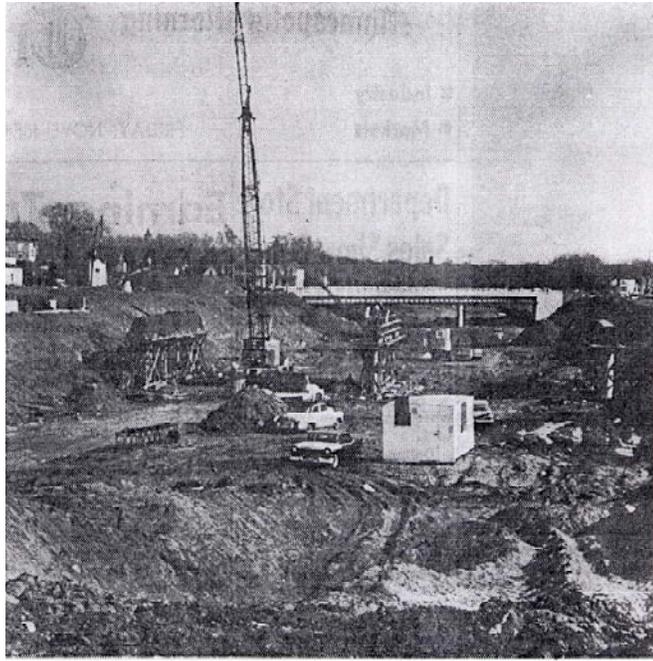


Figure 4: This photo from the *Minneapolis Tribune* shows the construction of I-94 adjacent to Augsburg in November 1962 . Courtesy of Minneapolis Public Library.

The depressed furrow that would become I-94 separated Augsburg from the northern edge of the Seward neighborhood along 9th Street and removed homes, schools, and businesses. Such an intrusion to the landscape did not bother Augsburg. One Augsburg student justified the destruction of nearby Monroe Elementary School by claiming in the *Echo* that it was simply outdated.⁴³ Placement of I-94 along 9th Street also put family-owned grocery stores out of business and helped isolate Murphy Square from Seward families.⁴⁴ Augsburg history professor Donald Gustafson remembered that the “area of 9th Street that was removed was a trashy eyesore of a neighborhood” and “the school couldn’t have been happier” to see it leave.⁴⁵ With no strong incentive to preserve the neighborhood and urban renewal projects by the city and state government, Augsburg looked to acquire land and raze buildings to expand the campus in the wake of the opening provided by the construction of I-94.

Before 1961, Augsburg had the power of eminent domain, which allowed greater leverage for acquiring land. With the power to remove neighborhood homes for expansion and student housing, Augsburg wielded significant control before the city of Minneapolis revoked their power. The city decided that eminent domain was meant for I-94 and the University of Minnesota's West Bank expansion, not private institutions like Augsburg.⁴⁶ In 1965, however, the ability to acquire land involved screening redevelopment proposals to decide on changes within close proximity to campus before submission to the city planning commission.⁴⁷ The tools available to Augsburg made the process to obtain land more difficult but still permitted substantial growth. By 1969, Augsburg owned land that stretched from 20th Ave to 25th Ave and properties that lined Riverside Ave and I-94.⁴⁸

Ironically, in the midst of these urban renewal efforts by the college and the city, stirrings of an environment consciousness emerged. The freeway lurched through the neighborhood as a weapon of urban renewal and forced students to see their surroundings differently. Various perspectives on the "Metro-Morphosis" emerged in the April 4th 1966 *Augsburg Echo*.⁴⁹ One student editorialized that "one 'blessing' has been with the College since its birth in 1869—its environment."⁵⁰ The piece briefly summarized the changed environment in glowing prose that welcomed the elimination of a slum and noted that "now...a new city is rising from the rubble."⁵¹ This editorial interpreted the environment around Augsburg in terms of future potential. In direct opposition, another student, Thad Danielson, noted, "this may be a slum and a deprived area—economically. Culturally, it swings!"⁵² Danielson envisioned the existing area around Augsburg as rich and diverse.

The college's surroundings shaped the perspective of how the college wanted students to envision their environment. Outside forces changed the economic status of the community. At the same time, urban renewal provided students with valuable insights on the pros and cons of urban lifestyles. The school's mission was modified in 1967 to include the desire "to confront our students with the problems and benefits of living and serving in an increasingly urbanized culture."⁵³ This change showed how the transformation of the surrounding landscape forced the institution to adapt its learning objectives to the new conditions. I-94's construction changed Augsburg's culture as well as its campus. Simply put, the physical attributes of the surrounding neighborhood proved to be a powerful influence on the institution.



Figure 5: The extensive growth of the campus and a completed I-94, circa 1975. Courtesy of Augsburg College Archives.

The transformed neighborhoods surrounding Augsburg also left clear social hierarchies amongst residents living close to Augsburg. In the 1970s, tensions between the college and local residents arose from disputes about buildings Augsburg owned. The college controlled many of the buildings where students and neighborhood community members lived. Many Augsburg students trashed local houses while the college received the backlash. Eventually, the college tore down the houses, arguing that they could not afford the upkeep.⁵⁴ Most of the domiciles around Augsburg housed low-income residents, so incidents such as these did not cause the college to hesitate when deciding to destroy them for long-term construction projects such as parking.⁵⁵ The control Augsburg exerted over its own buildings reflected priorities of the college. One such priority was the desire to accommodate automobiles, which reached back to 1958.

College administrators chose to foster the emerging postwar car culture of America in its campus planning during the 1950s and in so doing, risked future problems associated with cars on campus. Opponents to parking lots at Augsburg in the late 1950s often warned of future problems. Augsburg envisioned 222 spaces for cars in its 1958 campus plan and, even suggested the use of athletic practice fields for extra parking when necessary.⁵⁶ To turn their plans into reality Augsburg needed to tear down the grand Victorian-style Morton Hall, located on Riverside Avenue, close to the athletic facilities. Morton needed only superficial improvements to display its beauty and architectural significance. Led by English Professor Preus, many faculty members signed a petition to protest the destruction of the aging relic. Preus understood that Augsburg would not likely change its mind and conceded: "If it must go, however, may a parking lot not take its place. At a time when every other college in the U.S. is trying get cars off campus, I hope we are not trying to get them on."⁵⁷ It seemed to Preus and the other faculty that

petitioned the administration, that cars should not be welcome on campus. The faculty petition suggests that the conscious decision of the college to tear down buildings such as Morton Hall to make way for parking lots—to encourage the use of cars to get to Augsburg—created opposition almost immediately. Furthermore, their resistance to parking lots and the automobiles that went with them seems justified by the parking problems that continued to plague the campus into the 2000s.

Chapter 4: Changing The Urban Environment, 1970-1983

The first half of the 1970s saw increasing awareness at Augsburg about issues facing the natural environment. National events and ecological concerns during this decade provided the context for Augsburg's growing environmental consciousness. One scholar has noted that the environmentalism that emerged in the 1970s "dealt with issues such as pollution that affected everyone, but often its language and form of presentation spoke to the feelings of city people about [their] distance from the natural world."¹ Given that background, it is easy to see why Augsburg, a school that for years struggled to accept its urban environment, latched on to the movement.

The decade began with a visible nation-wide push to increase environmental awareness with the inaugural Earth Day on April 22, 1970. The college participated in the event and had an Earth Day planning committee that organized such events as a lecture on "Population Growth and Pollution," multiple panel discussions, and an environmental fair. The day culminated in a neighborhood trash pick up and scavenger hunt in which all the garbage collected was placed on a platform in Murphy Square to bring attention to wasteful practices in American culture.² Not only does this event show that people at Augsburg were thinking about the environment in a new way, but also the trash pick up was an effort to give back to the neighborhood, something rarely seen at Augsburg prior to this event.

One year later, Augsburg played a large role in the survival of the North Country Coop by agreeing to rent a building to them. The college was at first reluctant to allow the Coop to move into their property, but after members of the Coop convinced Augsburg they would financially persist, administrators agreed.³ The Coop moved into a building

at 6th Street and Riverside vacated by Larson's, a local mom and-pop shop, in April 1971. As a result of the North Country Coop's presence, students were exposed to the ideas of sustainable and organic agriculture.⁴

Viewed as a single event, the move of the North Country Coop to a college-owned building appears to be nothing more than a business transaction, but when viewed in the broader context of the time it becomes much more. The addition of the Coop to the list of Augsburg's tenants, especially with the initial hesitancy shown by the administration, points to a move at the institution to change the way they viewed and interacted with the environment. This is more evident when one views the changes that happened within the institution with changes to the curriculum around the same time.



Figure 1: North Country Coop's campus-owned location. Photo courtesy of John Sherman.

New courses in Summer 1971 did much to further expand student views on environmental awareness. Art 1002: Environmental Esthetics [sic] was one such class, taught by Robert Friederichsen. It stressed “participation in the cultural life of the community leading toward appreciation and criticism.”⁵ The connection between

community and environment that was seen in the Earth Day events of 1970 was further stressed in this class.

Biology 2010: Man and the Environment, taught by Dr. Sylvia J. Kerr, added new perspectives on human interactions with the environment. This course not only gave “a peripheral view of ...ecosystem intricacies and an examination of human disruption,” but also related the “relevance of the Christian Ethic.”⁶ The connection of Christian ethics and environmental degradation was a new addition to Augsburg’s curriculum. This proved especially important, given the college’s Lutheran affiliation and the stewardship ethic intertwined with that belief system.

The following summer, Economics 2220: Economic Issues of the Urban Environment, taught by Edward M. Sabella, was added to the curriculum. Two topics of note dealt with by this class included the “population ‘crisis’” and “mass transit systems.”⁷ These three classes show an effort by professors to increase environmental awareness among students and to expand the definition of environment.

As new professors (Friederichsen, Kerr, and Sabella were all new additions to the faculty and had earned their degrees between 1968 and 1970) these faculty brought their own college experiences and a growing environmental consciousness from the 1960s to Augsburg. During that decade, books such as Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*, which revealed the affects that society’s dependence on chemicals was having on humanity, were published. Environmentalism became so much of a force in the 1960s that “by the end of the decade, addressing the ‘environmental crisis’ had become part of the consensus of mainstream politics.”⁸ The ideas that these professors brought with them to Augsburg kept the institution up to date with pressing environmental concerns.

The academic year of 1972-1973 saw a different sort of change in the course catalog. The primary objectives of the college now included efforts “to increase students’ understanding of the urban environment and culture, and to enable them to gain the skills need to respond creatively to the problems and potentialities of the modern city.”⁹ This revised mission illustrated the ways the language and the thought patterns being pushed by the movement for environmental awareness began permeating the campus.

New courses also continued to spring up across the college. Sociology 111: Human Community and the Modern Metropolis, was taught by Gordon L. Nelson, who earned his degree in 1965.¹⁰ The following year, Augsburg introduced a Metro-Urban Studies major, with most of the required classes coming from the Sociology department.¹¹ These additions suggested a changing perception at the institution concerning the surrounding city. Instead of being a concern for the college, its urban surroundings were being transformed into an educational tool that would define the institution’s mission and student experiences.

Changes to the curriculum materialized in the sciences as well. The January interim terms in 1973 and 1974 saw the addition of two new chemistry classes. Chemistry 34246: Topics in Environmental Chemistry, instructed by John R. Holum, was one. Students in the class could expect to “learn something of the materials that are ruining us, where they come from, and how emeshed [sic] we all are in their origins.”¹² The language used in the course description alluded to the environmental awareness permeating Augsburg. While there were mentions of crises in previous classes, this was the first written recognition that the effects of so-called progress were “ruining us.” Holum differed from the previous professors in that he received his Ph.D. in 1954 and was a full professor--the others had only been assistant or associate professors.

The other chemistry class was taught by Courtland Agre, who received his Ph.D. in 1937, and like Holum, was a tenured professor. Chemistry 34104: Patter and Plastics, examined “how good or how bad the types of plastics are.”¹³ The degree to which environmental awareness permeated the science department, with long-standing tenured professors teaching classes criticizing practices hitherto viewed as progress, paralleled nation-wide trends. Heightened concerns in the 1960s were furthered by events like the Santa Barbara oil spill of 1969, in which 235,000 gallons of crude oil tainted thirty miles of beach in the wealthy California town of Santa Barbara.¹⁴ Mainstream politicians attempted to address these concerns with the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts of the 1960s and the founding of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970.

During those interim sessions, two other departments--History and Physics-- offered courses that discussed environmental problems in new ways. History 56150: Historical Perspectives on the Urban Crisis, examined the history of four European cities in an effort to better understand modern urban situations.¹⁵ Physics, on the other hand, offered Physics 84161: Understanding the Weather. This course brought two new ideas to the understanding of environment at Augsburg. One was adding another aspect of the environment that affected the college--the weather and climate. Understanding the weather also meant exploring “the influence of weather on pollution,” furthering the understanding of how interconnected the two were.¹⁶ The notion that pollution from far away areas could travel great distances and eventually affect the college, and vice versa, brought a deeper understanding of the effects that humans had on the environment. The idea that one only affected themselves with pollution could no longer be held. Instead, hazardous choices could clearly have far-reaching ecological impacts. Both of these courses were taught by associate professors who recently earned their degrees.

More courses offered in the January 1975 interim furthered the explosion of environmental awareness at Augsburg. The additions to the science department show the degree to which science professors attempted to understand and dissemination scholarship on environmental risks and pollutants

The first of the three classes was Biology 20109: Human Biology-- Homo Sapiens for Better or Worse, taught by Erwin D. Mickelberg. The course asked students to discuss “What makes man just another member of the biotic fold? Does man have a niche in the ecosystem? What affect does man have on the environment? What affect does the environment, especially the urban environment, have on man?”¹⁷ Mickelberg was yet another associate professor with a recently acquired degree, having earned his masters in 1964.¹⁸

The second course was taught by the same John R. Holum who taught Topics in Environmental Chemistry. This course, Chemistry 34110: Energy, Man, and the Environment, pushed students to look at future sources of energy and “at both the prospects of each fuel and the problems.”¹⁹

Finally, Interdisciplinary Studies 60250: Science and Faith, was taught by three professors—Theodore J. Hanwick from the Physics department, Ralph Sulerud from Biology, and Philip A. Quanbeck from the Religion department. Sulerud took his degree in 1968, while the other two professors earned theirs in the 1950s. The class looked at the scientific view of nature and asked students to think about “the relationship between God and nature...with the aim of working toward a ‘Theology of Nature.’”²⁰

All three classes brought crucial questions to Augsburg. That all of these classes were offered at this moment suggested a growing ecological consciousness on campus. Environmental awareness in some form or another found its way into multiple

disciplines. The Chemistry department went through the largest amount of curricular change along these lines.

By 1975-1976, almost all of the previously-mentioned courses disappeared from the curriculum, almost as fast as they had been added.²¹ It is difficult to ascertain a definitive reason for this sudden shift. Nationally, “after the OPEC oil embargo and in the middle of inflation inspired by the Vietnam War, the nation’s belief in ever expanding prosperity began to wane.”²² Perhaps the country’s economy took on a new academic importance in this context. There was also a study group that analyzed the administrative workings, curriculum, student life, facilities, and future direction for Augsburg. The group presented their report to the administration in May 1974. The fact that the group doing the study was the Exxon Education Foundation Project Team, funded by a grant from Exxon Oil Company, raises concerns that the study and their recommendations may have had something to do with the cancellation of the aforementioned classes. Nothing in their presentations or recommendations, however, give any indication that that was the case.²³

After the curricular changes in the early to mid-1970s, environmental consciousness on campus regressed. An occasional class dealt with environmental issues, but at no time did the quantity or quality of classes compare to the ones being offered in the first half of the decade. It should be noted that Mortensen Hall, a building planned with older assumptions about cheap energy, was built at the same time of the environmental push in campus classrooms. Perhaps there were disconnects between the faculty and students on one hand, and the administration on the other, as to the importance of environmental awareness.

Transforming the physical appearance of the institution again moved to the fore in the second half of the 1970s. Construction projects showed a concerted effort to beautify the image of the campus. While the administration altered the environment for both aesthetic value and function in many cases, some of the projects were solely meant to enhance the visual appearance of Augsburg.

In 1977, the Augsburg grounds crew built sidewalks in the quad where there had been well-worn paths in the grass. Small additions like benches placed around campus and flowers made supposedly “lifeless” areas around campus more pleasing to the eye. This push for aesthetic improvement also included renovating Murphy Park. Community desires to change Murphy Square led to a beautification plan, described in great detail in September 1972 in an *Augsburg Echo* article. A student reporter stated that the park was “getting a new look” by cutting down “forlorn little stumps and replacing them with young, strong native Minnesotan trees.”²⁴ Some members of the surrounding neighborhood were somewhat uneasy about the plan due to its scope for at least one resident: “one look at the present state of the square reveals the tremendous task ahead.”²⁵

The effort to make Murphy Park more aesthetically pleasing involved digging up trees that had been there for many years and planting forty-five new Minnesota trees. Augsburg community members thought this renewal and restoration would “give Murphy Square more historical value than it does now,” stated the *Echo* writer in 1977. She continued, arguing that the “renovation will be an opportunity for people who care about our environment to get their hands dirty and be of service to the college.” In the same article, an Augsburg grounds-crew employee stated: “The location of tree planting was planned by the art department and grounds crew for an effect that should emerge that is aesthetically pleasing as well as having maximum chance of survival.”²⁶ This project

needed 45 crews, one for each tree, with three people on each crew. This project involved President Oscar Anderson working with the city Park Board and Augsburg staff and students. Though Murphy Square belonged to the city, Augsburg students did most of the planting and all of the upkeep. After the initial rebirth, three students per tree became responsible for watering and taking care of it until the winter.²⁷



Figure 2: Renovation work on Murphy Square. Reprinted from the *Augsburg Echo*, September 30, 1977, pg. 1.

Construction projects to accommodate the growing number of students also took place in the late 1970s. One such project was the construction of the Music building. Completed in 1977, the structure created 32,400 square feet of space and cost \$3,014,366 to construct.²⁸ Residences on those lots had to be removed by the college before

construction began. This project, along with others, angered residents in the surrounding community.

Augsburg, as a fairly large institution, had a great deal of power in the neighborhood at the time, largely because of the property it owned. Decisions made by the institution were viewed by many in the neighborhood as destructive to the individuals not affiliated with the college who lived in the area. Tensions arose from disputes about property Augsburg owned. Augsburg controlled many of the buildings where students and neighborhood community members lived. Many of the houses were in poor condition and the college was unable to afford the upkeep. The college's solution to this problem was usually the demolition of the building.²⁹ Incidents like this created the perception that Augsburg was destroying low-income housing to push poor people out of the neighborhood.

Housing disputes escalated in 1979 when Augsburg destroyed a number of houses in an effort to increase parking availability on campus. Parking spaces at Augsburg were at a premium. Houses on 8th Street, between 20th and 21st Avenue, were to make way for a new parking lot. In the wake of this action, Cedar-Riverside community members felt powerless. To show community opinion about the loss of low income housing, many residents wrote messages in graffiti on areas on buildings on Augsburg campus (see Figures 3 and 4 below).³⁰ The college administration tried to calm the community by stating that there would be no additional parking lots built until a long-range solution was devised. In a 1979 interview with the *Augsburg Echo*, Vice President of Finance and Management Wayne Pederson said: "this new parking space will be the last parking development until Augsburg builds a ramp."³¹

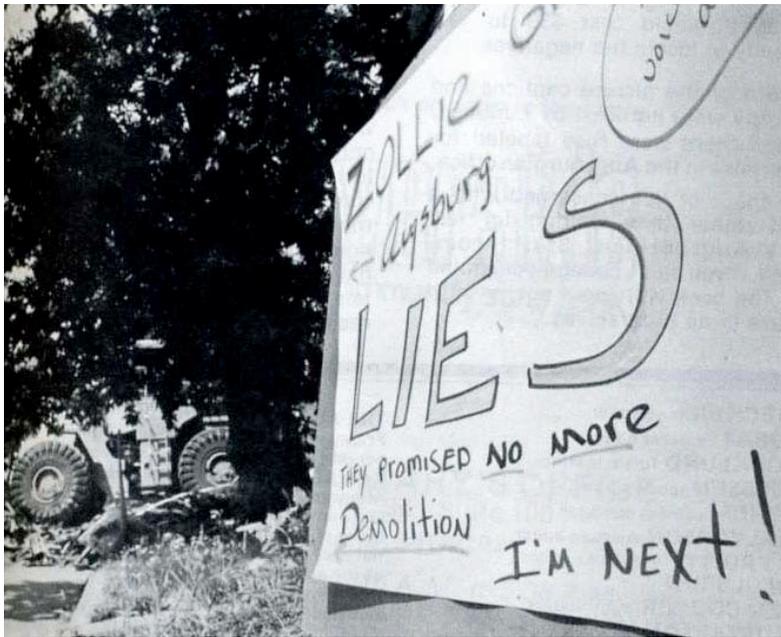


Figure 3: Sign posted on house to be demolished by Augsburg. Courtesy of Augsburg College Archives.



Figure 4: Graffiti on Augsburg building showing community resentment towards Augsburg's destruction of homes for parking lots. Courtesy of Augsburg College Archives.

These actions caused concern among local residents in regards to the future of the neighborhood. One neighborhood resident felt Augsburg was “guilty of social irresponsibility” and some residents became afraid Augsburg would demolish all the low-income housing it could.³² Such fears found reinforcement in a statement made by Pederson during his *Echo* interview: “The college master plan calls for elimination of

nearly all houses.”³³ One Augsburg tenant in the 1970s, Richard Metcalf, declared publicly in Spring 1978 that Augsburg planned “to eventually tear down a total of 40 buildings.” Metcalf said that when Augsburg first made plans to tear down houses, he and others tried to get the college to discuss the matter but Augsburg officials refused.³⁴

The issue of property upkeep furthered conflicts between Augsburg and the community. Metcalf noted that area residents believed Augsburg had been dishonest in its dealings with the community. Outdated electric systems and poor insulation were the two main problems with most of the Augsburg properties. Metcalf, the Cedar Riverside Project Area Committee (PAC), and the West Bank Tenants Union, said Augsburg was responsible for fixing the problems.³⁵ It appears that the institution was not overly bothered by these concerns, probably because of their plan to demolish the houses. In his interview in the *Echo*, Pederson stated that he believed the houses Augsburg owned were “more or less” to code.³⁶

Tim Ogren, a resident in one of Augsburg’s houses during the 1970’s, believed the college took “a very hypocritical view of this issue because it preaches and teaches urban concerns and community relations.” He felt that Augsburg did not look out for its neighbors. In fact, Ogren argued that the college owned “land just to control it and allowing the housing on it to deteriorate is criminal.... Augsburg is one of the most negligent institutions around.”³⁷ The Tenants Union began working on a proposal of their own for rehabilitation and maintenance of these homes, however, before they finished it, the houses were torn down.³⁸ Many community members in the West Bank participated in a resulting rent strike in 1979.

The conflict between Augsburg and the community concerned at least a few students. Three were candidates for the PAC in 1977. PAC coordinated citizen input and

advice concerning area urban renewal plans. The PAC channeled this advice to government agencies such as the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority. The Cedar Riverside PAC in 1977 was composed of 36 members. In the 1970's, Augsburg was a member of PAC. One of the students running said she wanted to participate on the PAC because she felt that, "Augsburg's relationship with the PAC is critical to a successful Cedar-Riverside community redevelopment" and hoped to work to smooth out the relationship.³⁹

The North Country Coop also struggled with the college's actions as a landlord. Augsburg collected rent, but, as with all its other rental properties, maintained no responsibility for upkeep. John Sherman, Coop employee for forty years, stated that "they [Augsburg] were not good landlords. They did not keep up the property and they were not interested in housing, probably because from their point of view housing provided no future for the college, so they did not want to put resources into their buildings."⁴⁰ According to Sherman, the Coop maintained a good relationship with Augsburg students and staff who shopped and volunteered there over the years. When houses began to be torn down south of the Coop, the Coop suggested that the college build a parking lot for the store, but Augsburg did not cooperate. Not until the mid-1980's did Augsburg finally agree to the Coop's parking lot plan. The Coop, however, remained responsible for all the building and landscaping.⁴¹

In 1981, Augsburg analyzed the inner-workings of their own physical plant. The college hired Rust Architects to conduct an energy audit of the buildings on campus. An article in the *Augsburg Echo* stated that "both auditor and Johnson agreed that most of the campus buildings were built during a time when energy was of little or only secondary importance."⁴² This mindset illustrated an assumption about the culture of the Industrial

Age that persisted into post World War II American culture. One historian, Martin V. Melosi, analyzed this attitude by looking at the environmental disregard and economic incentives gained by companies through poor building practices. He argued that “competing for markets took precedence over conserving resources; unrestrained economic growth was the credo of the day.” According to Melosi, “‘environmental cost,’ as a consequence of doing business did not find its way into the balance sheets of companies.”⁴³ During this time the nation promoted the use of energy, especially fossil fuels, and worked to create an atmosphere that encouraged Americans to view resources as never-ending, encouraging consumption. The planners of Augsburg’s buildings surely shared these beliefs.

According to the audit, Augsburg needed to drastically reduce its energy consumption. William Rust and his company gave the college some ways to improve efficiency through little changes such as keeping the thermostat at lower temperatures instead of opening windows, and more involved processes such as adding insulation to the roofs of buildings.⁴⁵ The ever increasing price of fuel meant that institutional operating costs continued to escalate; however, no long term solutions were ever put into place.

Waste, and the problem of what to do with it, was another rising concern nationwide by the early 1980s. While Augsburg itself did not start addressing it at the onset of the decade one of its tenants, the North Country Coop, did. In the early 1980’s the Coop built a shed for community recycling, bringing the idea to Augsburg’s doorstep. Members from the community brought their recycling to the appropriate bins in the shed. Then Coop employees and volunteers took the items to recycling centers in St. Paul and on Franklin Avenue. The Coop kept this shed for six years before Minneapolis

established a municipal recycling program.⁴⁶ The introduction of recycling by the Coop was an effort to increase the environmental consciousness of the broader community, including the college.

The first half of the 1970s saw an influx of environmental awareness at Augsburg. Concerns regarding interrelationships individuals and the institution were having with the natural world permeated much of the campus. The growth may have been too quick however, for by the later half of the decade little remained of the new environmental efforts. Instead, Augsburg's manipulation of the environment resulted in conflicts with the surrounding community. This disregard persisted through the early 1980s. Environmental and community consciousness at Augsburg shifted from one end of the spectrum to the other over a relatively short period of time.

Chapter 5: The Gilded Age of Campus Greening: 1983-2005

1983 saw new concerns at Augsburg about how the campus community related to its environment. As the North Country Coop instigated a recycling program in the beginning of the decade, shortly thereafter waste became a concern on Augsburg's campus as well. The recycling movement was the start of a new environmental push at the institution that continued, albeit in fits and starts, through the 1980s and 1990s.

The first coverage of recycling in the *Augsburg Echo* appeared in 1983. An article referred to the two-year trial recycling program instituted by the city of Minneapolis.¹ A little over a year later, the Augsburg chapter of the Minnesota Public Interest Research Group (MPIRG) started a recycling program on campus. In this program, student volunteers placed and regularly emptied collection bins in Urness Hall and Mortensen Tower in an effort "to become part of the environmental solution rather than the problem."² At that time only aluminum and tin cans were recycled with the hope that the proceeds would help to expand the program. The language used in the *Echo*--"environmental solutions" and "problems"--was reminiscent of language used on campus in the early 1970s.

The resurgence of environmental awareness on campus was mirrored nationwide. In the aftermath of events like Three Mile Island and Love Canal in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Americans again began to rethink the way in which they related to the environment. More Americans than ever joined national environmental groups. The Sierra Club had a membership of 181,000 in 1980 and by 1983, the year that recycling started at Augsburg, its membership had grown to 346,000. Between 1979 and 1983 the Wilderness Society and the Audubon Society grew from 48,000 and 300,000 members to

100,000 and 498,000 members respectively.³ With these figures it is evident that the recycling push at Augsburg followed on broader concerns about environmental issues.

David Flak, the local board chairman for MPIRG, felt that the initial recycling campaign at the college was “very successful.”⁴ However, the following year, the student supported program struggled due to the late delivery of collection bins. The fact that only cans were being recycled was due to the money to be acquired from recycling aluminum and tin. When MPIRG faced delays in acquiring recycling bins, Omicron Delta Kappa (a national honor fraternity) placed collection bins around the campus.⁵

Facing such difficulties, the recycling campaign faded for a few years, but in the later half of 1988 MPIRG brought recycling back to Augsburg. In a new campaign, MPIRG intended to “reduce the waste produced on campus by working for a ban on Styrofoam usage in the food services and by instituting a recycling program in residence halls and college facilities.”⁶ The environmental awareness in this case came from an outside source--MPIRG--in an attempt to promote change on campus. An *Augsburg Echo* article stated that MPIRG urged Augsburg students to promote change “by lobbying the administration to institute a recycling program” that included paper.⁷ The following month, an article insisted that the campaign was up and running at the college. This, along with the increased scope of MPIRG’s goals, shows that some students took environmental issues seriously.⁸

These efforts resulted in some success—enough success, that in Spring 1989, Augsburg’s administration decided that it would take over the recycling of aluminum cans. President Charles Anderson agreed to the decision, stating that he believed that the program would “pay for itself.”⁹ From this statement it appears that the administration

only saw recycling as valuable as the monetary gains it provided. Environmental issues seemed to take a back seat to financial concerns at the school.

Recycling awareness continued to grow with Campus Ministry getting involved in 1990. Students went room to room in the dorms to try to increase participation in existing recycling programs. In contrast to the administration's comments on the program, one member of campus ministry, Sherri Larson, was quoted as saying, "'we're not doing it for the money.... We just need to get the job done.'"¹⁰ Even with more people getting involved, the response on campus did not seem to be unanimous. While no formal opposition emerged, the canisters placed in Christensen Center were stolen fairly soon after being placed.¹¹ The people involved with the recycling program realized that keeping excitement about the program up was a key to its success. This factor was a driving force behind the formation of the Environmental Concerns Task Force (ECTF) in Spring 1990.¹²

The ECTF, a body that contained faculty, staff and students, included Mary Laurel True from community services, Stephen Gabrielsen from the Music department, Esther McLaughlin from Biology, Dave Wold from Campus Ministry, and other individuals from admissions and facilities. The group went beyond recycling, trying to raise the environmental consciousness of the campus on many other issues. Other issues that they addressed were the twentieth anniversary of Earth Day, environmental education, resources available from the greater community, and the creation of an internship "devoted to addressing the environmental issues at Augsburg." All of these were listed in a report by the committee in the summer of 1990. The report also stated that, "...the awareness of environmental issues has been heightened because of the...activities initiated and coordinated by the Environmental Concerns Task Force."¹³

The stress on environmental awareness and the push to keep excitement up around recycling makes it appear as though concerned individuals at Augsburg learned something from the environmental surge on campus in the early 1970s. The short duration of those efforts made clear the need for constant work to keep environmental issues at the forefront of the institution's consciousness.

By the following school year, the student recycling coordinator suggested the recycling program was well established.¹⁴ Apparently the ECTF felt this way too, since their focus shifted to the disposal of hazardous materials used on campus. Notes from one of the group's meetings illustrate the lack of prior thought that had been given to this issue. The Art and Physics departments were unsure if they were following storage regulations and the task force members stated that they "could not verify that we have a neutralization tank on the Science Building sewer lines. The University Chemical Safety Program helps us dispose of our lab chemicals but not our maintenance waste."¹⁵ The incident shows the breadth of the ECTF's definition of environment. Not only was the natural environment a concern, but so was the man-made environment--in this case, the classrooms.

No reports remain from the Environmental Concerns Task Force after Fall 1990, yet there was no mention of their disbandment. They simply lost momentum, as did environmental awareness on the campus as a whole. Efforts to increase excitement about environmental issues had not been as successful as some believed. Already existing programs like recycling remained, but no new environmental issues were brought to the campus's attention for a number of years.

Even so, the physical footprint of the institution grew in the 1990s. In 1993 the new athletic field covered a large portion of college property with artificial turf that

covered in the winter months for year-round use. The field is the largest recreation space owned by the college, further highlighting the spatial limitations put on the institution due to its urban setting. Other changes to the physical environment of Augsburg came with the construction of Anderson Hall, Lindell Library, and New Hall.

The construction of Lindell Library began in June 1996, and ended with the dedication on November 2, 1997. Students, faculty, and staff helped to plan the library, and committees and architects worked to meet the needs and expectations of Augsburg students and staff.¹⁶ Students even made a “great library wall” where students could write their ideas for the new library. The addition of this building was long overdue: the initial planning for a new library began in June 1955.¹⁷

The physical location of Lindell affected the surrounding community. In 1995, the administration announced plans to build the new library, along with a notice that the North Country Coop would need to move off campus to create enough space for the construction. Concerns immediately arose among community North Country Coop initiated negotiations about relocating in one of the existing buildings on Augsburg’s campus. Members from the Coop even put together a proposal to make the new building a multiuse building in which they could be incorporated. Augsburg was not interested, but did give the Coop enough time to find a new location.¹⁸

In the midst of this expansion and tension with community entities, there was a new increase in environmental awareness on campus. In 1995, Eric Schneider, an Augsburg student, wrote an article about the environmental relationship of Augsburg to its surrounding landscapes. He first touched on the negative environmental image of I-94 and its corresponding traffic congestion and recommended that students use their bikes to be part of the solution. He then strongly reminded students about the importance of

experiencing the culture of the neighborhood, emphasizing that it was part of the Augsburg experience.¹⁹ The reappearance of the surrounding community as a concern for students, and the inclusion of it in a sense of what the Augsburg experience should be, showed a shift in how at least one student viewed Cedar Riverside. Not only was it viewed as an asset, but Schneider also tied increased contact with the surrounding community as support for using alternative modes of transportation to get to Augsburg.

The following school year, 1996-1997, brought curriculum changes to Augsburg that brought environmental concerns to the forefront once again. New classes were offered through the Center for Global Education. A number of classes in Latin America dealt with the region's environmental situations as well as sustainable development.²⁰ While the courses were not on Augsburg's campus, they offered students another way to view struggles faced by people around the world. Furthermore, they took participants out of the classroom and gave them first hand experiences of the problems.

Campus environmental awareness at the time can also be seen in a 1997 MPIRG poll of Augsburg students. Of the people polled, 57.9% felt that the recycling facilities on campus were adequate.²¹ In this case, the number itself proved less important than the fact that questions like this were being asked on campus. The staying power of an issue brought to light in the 1980s and early 1990s became evident through this poll. Recycling, while probably not always at the forefront of students' minds, had become a fixture at Augsburg College.

One other class of note was offered for the first time: Economics 365: Environmental and Sustainable Development. This class addressed "the environmental problems such as tropical deforestation, despoliation of air and water, ozone depletion, global warming, etc. that arise in the process of economic development to better the

standard of living.”²² While growth of environmental awareness on campus at this time paled in comparison to that of the early 1970s, similar language was once again being used.

At the instigation of President William Frame, in the spring of 1999 the ECTF was revived in the form of the Environmental Concerns Committee (ECC). The group was “vested with the important task of helping the college think in ecological terms.”²³ Its formation marked an effort by the administration to again place an emphasis on environmental awareness across campus. Initial actions taken by the ECC were a campus-wide waste audit, and a request to have the administration sign the *Talloires Declaration on Sustainability on Campus*—a request that went ignored.²⁴

Alongside new, if limited, institutional awareness was struggles with existing programs. During Spring 2000, students raised concerns in the *Augsburg Echo* about recycling being thrown out with the trash. According to Conrad Meyer, the manager of custodial services at the time, this was due to contamination of the recycling. Meyer stated that “contamination of recycled materials remains our single greatest problem.”²⁵ Apparently the materials would not be accepted by the recycling company if they were mixed or if trash got into the recycling bins. Programs that ask individuals to modify behaviors can be difficult to initiate and sustain. This article in, however, shows a continued effort to bring awareness to participating individuals to promote more successful use of preexisting programs.

Along with student concerns, the ECC remained an important aspect of the movement to increase environmental awareness on campus in subsequent years. With the new committee came a resurrected outlook on why environmental issues should be important to a college like Augsburg. Their vision statement declared that, “Augsburg

College, like the rest of the world, will have to undertake a more careful stewarding of the natural resources which has been provided to us by our creator. As a compact, urban campus at the center of a large and growing metropolitan region, these environmental issues and resource scarcity are particularly pressing.”²⁶ The acknowledgements of the urban nature of Augsburg’s campus, and the resulting impact on available resources gave further depth to ongoing discussions about the institution’s environment. The committee also incorporated the Lutheran idea of stewardship into their vision. This religious facet of the movement appeared in a few Augsburg classes in the 1970s, and was resurrected with Campus Ministry’s involvement in recycling in 1990, but then laid dormant yet again until the turn of the new century.

A noteworthy construction project that reflected ecological concerns in 2005, ironically, resulted in a parking lot. When the college built a lot east of the athletic field, it became Augsburg’s largest parking area. Small green islands were included in the parking lot dividing the parking spaces. Another feature was a rain garden that collected the lot runoff in a pool in order to decontaminate it while it soaked into the ground. This was a change from all other parking lots on campus that just let water runoff into the storm drains as they collecting chemicals and organic matter.

The inclusion of these elements in a space designed solely for the storage of personal transportation shows, at the very least, a superficial importance put on natural elements. A deeper commitment to the health of the environment is seen through the addition of the rain garden; however the addition of that element was not Augsburg’s idea. The city of Minneapolis required the addition of that feature to the parking lot. It should also be noted that the construction of this lot defied the 1979 suggestion that the lot built at that time would be “the last parking development until Augsburg builds a

ramp.”²⁷ The 1958 decision to encourage automobile use through the construction of parking lots left behind an ongoing, and burdensome, legacy for the college.

As an educational institution within an urban setting, the physical landscape of Augsburg influenced interrelationships between people and the landscape. Though in the beginning Augsburg hesitated in working with the urban community, over the years Augsburg began to embrace it. Student organizations like LINK, whose goal was to link the Augsburg community to the outside community, attempted to involve Augsburg students in the community. One such instance was in 1996, when LINK and members from the community such as the Fairview medical center built a Habitat for Humanity House in the neighborhood.²⁸

Augsburg not only affected the surrounding area, but was affected by it as well. The transportation struggles faced by an urban institution are a prime example of this. In 2004, the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MNDOT) provided a resource for more ecologically-responsible commuting. The addition of the Hiawatha Light Rail to the Twin Cities metro area allowed for students to travel to and from Augsburg in a new, more environmentally-sensitive way.²⁹ With the construction of a light rail stop just blocks away from the institution, MNDOT made access readily available to individuals at the institution.

The recent resurgence of environmental awareness at Augsburg, and the attempts to mend the relationship between the school and the community shows a broadening awareness of the institutions impacts on its urban environment. The inclusion of Lutheran ideals in the ECC’s (now the Environmental Stewardship Committee) mission statement attempted to give the movement deeper meaning to the institution by connecting the reasons for change to the religious roots of Augsburg. Building and maintenance

practices illustrated the struggles that an urban campus, dealing with the limited resources at its disposal, sometimes attempted, and at other times ignored, its impact on its surroundings. Throughout its history, Augsburg struggled with its location and its religious identity. Recent developments suggest a new direction, one that embraces the community and ties new ideas about how it relates to its surroundings back to its religious heritage in fruitful ways.

Epilogue

We often point to the lessons of history, but rarely do we live in ways that suggest a thoughtful response to the insights they offer. Yet environmental history is a tool that offers thorough analysis and the potential to foster change. Past decisions leave longstanding environmental and social consequences that should suggest to us, in the present, better judgment.

Augsburg College's location in an urban environment means environmental consciousness is especially important. The institution's choices affect a variety of individuals as well as nature. The curriculum shapes the way students view the world. Physical changes to the local landscape influence relationships with surrounding human as well as non-humans. Building practices and resource usage not only affect the economic situation of the college, but also affect society as a whole. Wasteful practices adversely affect our planet by fostering environmental degradation. Conservation and stewardship efforts, however, make the school part of a solution to environmental problems, and turn the college into a resource for the global community.

Despite the potential to cause heated debate, environmental concerns should be an important factor in any institution's decisions. That the influence humans have on the environment goes beyond the campus should cause concern. A growing number of people are aware of the environment's importance to future generations. Therefore, thoughtful action must follow this growing consciousness to protect what we know to be important: the earth. The growing knowledge available to institutions to make a difference weakens excuses to remain passive. Yet too often, the controversial nature of the subject inhibits discussions to afford action. As historians Carol and Dwight

Pitcaithley argue, “historical topics that are controversial in contemporary society are so because issues remain unresolved and they will be resolved, or at least closer to resolution, if they are discussed and debated.”¹

The question of environmental practices at Augsburg becomes even more important when the institution’s religious background is taken into account. The *Dictionary of Christian Ethics* states that, “stewardship is one of the root concepts in Christian ethics, based on the recognition that all gifts come from God and must be used to his glory.”² As a Lutheran institution, Augsburg must ask itself how well the college fits this model and how it can change to better meet the needs of God’s gifts made manifest in the natural world. Is this connection evident in the way the institution currently does business, or would it be better to change some of the environmental practices at Augsburg? Does the college want to embrace its Lutheran roots, or will shallow lip service suffice? Where does Augsburg see itself in regards to other religious colleges on stewardship issues? Is it a leader, or an institution that blends in to the pack? These questions must be answered.

When looking for leaders in environmental practices among colleges, Oberlin College stands at the forefront. In the book *Design on the Edge: The Making of a High-Performance Building*, David W. Orr describes the buildings at Oberlin as follows:

“The architecture of the postwar campus was more starkly utilitarian, not unlike that built elsewhere. Because of a paucity of money and imagination, buildings constructed on college and university campuses in the latter half of the twentieth century were often designed to the same standard as the strip malls and Kmart’s of the time... cheap to build, expensive to operate, and ugly, uncomfortable, and inefficient.”³

The styles of buildings discussed by Orr characterize the majority of the buildings at Augsburg almost perfectly. At Oberlin, the new Adam Joseph Lewis Center serves as an

example to higher learning institutions. The Lewis Center was carefully designed to maximize daylight, engage in efficient use of energy and materials, use solar electric power, export electricity from the building in the future, provide on site wastewater purification, exclude the use of toxic substances in paints, fabrics, and materials, utilize recycled products in office and classroom furniture, encourage biological diversity, use certified wood and building materials, design an evolving building or a building capable of “learning,” turn the building and landscape into an educational laboratory, and finally, to be an example of campus design.⁴ Students at Oberlin get to interact with a facility that teaches them about systems such as solar energy and the logistics of recycling waste produced by the building. In 2006, Augsburg missed two opportunities to build green with the Kennedy Center and the Oren Gateway buildings. Yet, the prospective new science building is one more opportunity to change Augsburg’s poor building habits. In a recent forum (not meant to gather student input about the future science buildings’ design) one student voiced the need for the new building to be environmentally friendly and rest of the student panelists unanimously agreed.⁵

The most basic reason to engage in better environmental practices result from economic concerns. An ecologically friendly structure similar to the one recently built at Oberlin requires a significant financial and environmental commitment from the college. For Oberlin, “not including the building endowment, the total cost of the Lewis Center was \$6.5 million.”⁶ The upfront cost of building a structure is hefty, but investing in long-term low-cost energy designs and seizing the opportunity to build an educational model related to circular energy and waste systems could prove invaluable. Furthermore, more typical buildings built to save on initial costs use more energy in the long run, and cost an institution over time.

Interestingly, environmentally-conscious businesses show that eco-friendly decisions can be profitable. Yvon Chouinard, founder and owner of Patagonia, a clothing company that is widely held as one at the forefront of environmentally sustainable practices, does approximately \$250,000,000 in total sales per year. Chouinard stated that when it comes to decisions concerning the environment, “despite the challenges involved...every time we've elected to do the right thing, even when it costs twice as much, it's turned out to be more profitable.” This makes one wonder why many institutions resist electing to do “the right thing.”⁷ Another company, Burgerville USA (a Washington state-based fast food chain), purchases local meats, cheese, and farm products that come from sustainable companies. Selling food “with a soul,” President Tom Mears pulled the huckleberry shake because it sold too well and drew on too much of the huckleberry harvest. To insure environmentally-conscious practices, Burgerville USA does not franchise, but builds only company-owned locations. Compared to national fast food chains, Burgerville does earn large profits. Meantime, their competition makes incredible profit from franchising, fails to cover 95% of employee healthcare costs, avoids paying for wind power energy, and pay their employees less.⁸ Patagonia and Burgerville USA are just two examples of ecologically sensitive successes in a competitive free market economy.

In a similar fashion, Augsburg competes against other colleges for a diminishing population of high school students. Not only does this mean Augsburg must become more marketable, but it also must keep the cost of running the institution low to be able to offer more financial aid. A recent inquiry into the monthly cost of electricity from Excel Energy put Augsburg’s monthly average over \$14,000. All told, roughly \$168,000 is spent annually to keep the college’s lights on.⁹ This figure will only rise with the

completion of the Oren Gateway Center. Economically, it makes sense for Augsburg to become more energy efficient, and at the same time, environmentally friendly.

Historians do not predict the future, but the parables they tell do offer lessons for future action. Augsburg's environmental history is one such parable. Historian Robert Archibald declared that "history is a form of self-analysis upon which we can base judgments about what has worked and what has failed and what has simply just been change."¹⁰ From the late 1940s until the 1970s—an era of campus expansion at Augsburg—the institution did not have the benefit of environmental consciousness. As a consequence, Augsburg must now make a concerted effort to transform its inefficient and destructive ecological relationships.

The college is starting to make significant strides along these lines. The most recent developments that suggest environmental stewardship is taking root at Augsburg include: the Hour Car, a hybrid vehicle for community use; a community organic garden; improved paper conservation practices for school printers; the addition of a fair-trade option at the school's coffee shop; the emergence of an Environmental Studies program; and continued recycling. All promote ecological stewardship. However, these improvements remain superficial for a long-term institution such as Augsburg College. Sustainable buildings constructed from recycled, reused, and eco-friendly material should reflect a new permanency for environmental concerns in the campus consciousness. Administrators and students will be transient populations at Augsburg for years to come, but the buildings will remain long after the tenure of current administrators, students, staff, or faculty.

Augsburg's environmental history teaches at least two simple and succinct lessons. First, we have the knowledge, technology, and philosophical ability to create

permanent change within a society that is slowly recognizing the importance of environmental awareness. Second, the institution must make long-term, ecologically-minded commitments in an era of increasingly environmentally alert students, faculty, staff, and community. To do otherwise relegates Augsburg to an earlier philosophy and way of thinking and being, one from post-World War II America, when energy was cheap (unlike today), and buildings used unnecessary amounts of fuel that cost the institution dearly in the long term. As a community, we simply must make the individual and institutional effort to become better global citizens and ecologically minded.

NOTES

Introduction

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- ³ Rothman, *The Greening of a Nation*, 180.
- ⁴ Louise E. Butler, “Recycling is solution to waste,” *Augsburg Echo*, November 22, 1985.
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- ¹⁴ Theresa Kane, “Recycling job is successful” *Augsburg Echo*, March 22, 1991.
- ¹⁵ Jim Weninger, “Notes From November 26th Meeting on Hazardous Materials,” personal email, December 3, 1990, Office of Tom Ruffaner, Mortensen 12, Augsburg College, Minneapolis, MN.
- ¹⁶ Laura Pejsa, “New Library Continues Progress,” *Augsburg Echo*, March 14, 1997.
- ¹⁷ Tracy Glumich, “Planning for New Library Includes Students,” *Augsburg Echo*, November 3, 1995.
- ¹⁸ John Sherman, interviewed by Emily Jensen, interview in possession of interviewer, Minneapolis, MN, December 12, 2006.
- ¹⁹ Eric Schneider, “Community is More Than Just Campus Based,” *Augsburg Echo*, September 22, 1995.
- ²⁰ *Augsburg College Catalog 1996-1998*, 157-160, ACA.
- ²¹ Jennifer, Rensenbrink, “MPIRG Keeping Busy: Group Organizes, Helps Give Students Voice,” *Augsburg Echo*, November 7, 1997.
- ²² *Augsburg Catalog 1996-1998*, 115, ACA.
- ²³ “The Environmental Stewardship Committee,” *Augsburg College*, 2006, <http://www.augsburg.edu/green/committee.html>
- ²⁴ “Environmental Concerns Committee History 1999-Present,” 1, Office of Tom Ruffaner, Mortensen 12, Augsburg College, Minneapolis, MN. The *Talloires Declaration on Sustainability on Campus* (<http://www.ulsf.org/pdf/TD.pdf>) contains 10 actions that participating colleges agree to take (Augsburg College never signed the document):
1. Increase Awareness of Environmentally Sustainable Development
 2. Create an Institutional Culture of Sustainability
 3. Educate for Environmentally Responsible Citizenship
 4. Foster Environmental Literacy for All
 5. Practice Institutional Ecology
 6. Involve All Stakeholders
 7. Collaborate for Interdisciplinary Approaches
 8. Enhance Capacity of Primary and Secondary Schools
 9. Broaden Service and Outreach Nationally and Internationally
 10. Maintain the Movement
- ²⁵ Allison Heimkes, “Contamination trashes recycling,” *The Augsburg Echo*, March 10, 2000.
- ²⁶ Tom Ruffaner and Joe Underhill-Cady, “Environmental Stewardship Committee Vision Statement,” Augsburg College, December 8, 2004, <http://www.augsburg.edu/green/VisionStatement.pdf>. The Environmental Concerns Committee changed its name to the Environmental Stewardship Committee in 2006, after the scope of this paper.
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- ²⁸ Kimberly, Dilauro, “Habitat for Humanity,” *Augsburg Echo*, October 18, 1996.
- ²⁹ Andy Inserra, *Light Rail Now*, “Minneapolis’ Hiawatha Light Rail: A Success Story Over 30 years in the Making,” August 2004; http://www.lightrailnow.org/features/f_min004.htm

Epilogue

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² John F. Sleeman, "Stewardship," *Dictionary of Christian Ethics*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), 333-334.

³ David W. Orr, *Design on the Edge: The Making of a High-Performance Building*, (Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press, 2006), 63-64.

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⁵ Mathew Torgeson, interviewed by Alex Hoselton, interview in possession of interviewer, Augsburg College, Minneapolis, MN., 11 March 2007. Torgeson participated in the student input panel that took place on 7 March 2007.

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¹⁰ Robert R. Archibald, "History Trip: Historical Societies and a Sense of Place," *Public History and the Environment*, ed. Melosi and Scarpino., 170.

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